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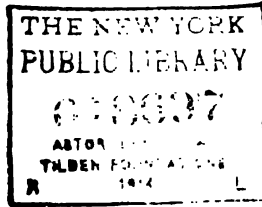
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# THE CODE NAPOLEON AND THE BANK OF FRANCE

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## DIVORCE IN FRANCE AND AMERICA

The world has so long recognized in the Emperor Napoleon the Supreme Master of the Art of War, in his own, or in any other age, and still recalls with such undying interest and admiration his marvellous achievements upon the field of battle, that it scarcely does the same justice to his equally profound abilities as a ruler, statesman and legislator.

Among the many splendid and beneficent achievements of the Emperor, as a legislator, there remain, to this day, in full activity, and, if possible, in even greater measure of good and usefulness to many millions of men, because of their experienced wisdom and justice, the two great civil measures of which this paper treats, and which will form imperishable monuments to his greatness as a ruler : The Code Napoleon, and The Bank of France.

He himself observed at St. Helena, upon a calm retrospect of his career that, "his fame in the eyes of posterity would rest even more on the Code which bore his name than all the victories which he won:" and the permanent adoption of the Code Napoleon as the basis of the jurisprudence of half of Europe has already proved the truth of the prophecy.

Some recital of the state of things in France at this

period will aid in a better understanding of the difficulties that had to be met and surmounted in regenerating France, and in raising himself to the throne. General Bonaparte landed on the coast of Provence after his memorable return voyage from Egypt on the 8th of October, 1799, at a time when the Republic was threatened with invasion by the victorious allied powers. The government was bankrupt, its armies defeated and in destitution, commerce and business paralyzed, and a general feeling of the hopelessness of the situation, pervaded the country.

Society was almost disorganized, the Church banished, and seven millions of new proprietors, who had appropriated the proceeds of universal confiscation of the landed property of the privileged classes were in dread as to the future stability of their own titles. The illusions of the Goddess of Reason—of *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*, terminating in the horrors of the Reign of Terror, under the merciless Committee of Public Safety, dominated by Robespierre, had left a fearful impress upon unhappy France. The sanguinary Republic of '93, consisting of a single chamber, which exercised all power at once, had been tried, and changed to a moderate republic, in which the powers should be carefully divided and committed to new men who had had no hand in the preceding excesses. The Executive Directory of France was in consequence devised. Yet this moderate newly-devised republic lasted four years only of a most troubled existence. The Executive Directory had, it is true, given up guillotining: it only banished or imprisoned. It had ceased to force people to accept the nearly worthless assignats of the government upon pain of death: but it paid nobody.

Terror was succeeded by a feeling of weakness, of intolerable uncertainty as to the future, and the loss of all confidence in the ruling powers of the Republic to defend it against its enemies within as well as without. All thoughts were already turned toward any military chieftain capable of ending the growing perils which beset them. "We must have done with declaimers," said the Abbé Siéyes; "what we want is a head and a sword."

And "the head and the sword" were both at hand! At this supreme crisis of the Republic, suddenly appeared, after an almost miraculous voyage, General Bonaparte, in whom all the world already recognized both civil and military talents of the very highest order. His proclamations, his negotiations, his treaties bore testimony to the former as did his victories to the latter. All parties and all factions hastened to meet him, demanding of him order, victory and peace, but upon conditions.

Though already resolved to seize the supreme authority, Napoleon had arrived in Paris without any fixed project for carrying his design into execution. Having to choose between the several parties who were eager to enlist him in their interests, he consulted his own by organizing a party which would carry out his purposes and ambitions. Nearly all the generals and the army were enthusiastically in his favor: Talleyrand, Fouché, Roederer and other leading civilians had voluntarily devoted themselves to his interests, and, finally, Abbé Siéyes, who was at the head of a numerous party of leading men in the chambers, was induced to enlist in his support. Some difficulty was experienced in inducing Napoleon and Siéyes to repress their mutual dislike. It is related by Gohier that, "Though political considerations led to this reconciliation and alliance, there were no

two men in France who hated each other more cordially than Napoleon and Siêyes. They had lately met at a dinner at Director Gohier's: the former, though he had made the first advance to Moreau, thought it unworthy of him to do the same to the veteran of the Revolution, and the day passed over without their addressing each other. They separated mutually exasperated. 'Did you see that insolent little fellow?' said Siêyes; 'he would not even condescend to notice a member of the government, who, if they had done right, would have caused him to be shot!' 'What on earth,' said Napoleon, 'could have made them put that priest in the Directory? He is sold to Prussia, and unless you take care, he will deliver you up to that power.' Yet these men, stimulated by ambition, acted cordially together in the Revolution which so soon approached. Such is the friendship of politicians."

The conspirators lost no time in their proceedings, and the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire (9th of November), 1799, overthrew the Directory and dispersed by armed force the two chambers. At eleven at night, less than sixty of the members assembled, and unanimously passed a decree abolishing the Directory, expelling sixty-one members from the councils as "demagogues," adjourning the Legislature for three months, and vesting the executive power in the mean time in Napoleon, Siêyes and Roger Ducos, under the title of Provisional Consuls. Two commissions of twenty-five members each were appointed from each council, to combine with the Consuls in the formation of a new Constitution.

Except the Legislature, everyone rejoiced at the success of the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire. *Coups-d'état* had been so common during the Revolution, that

the people had ceased to regard them as illegal, and they were judged of entirely by their consequences.

So great had been the anarchy and distresses of the country in the later years of the Revolution, that repose and a regular government were universally desired at any price, even the extinction of the liberty they had suffered so much to attain. Napoleon rivalled Cæsar in the clemency with which he used his victory. His elevation was not only unstained by blood, but no proscriptions, or massacres followed. On the contrary, numerous acts of mercy, as wise as they were magnanimous, illustrated the rise of the consular throne. Nine thousand state prisoners in the state prisons of France at the fall of the Directory, received their liberty. Their numbers, two years before, had been sixty thousand. The cruel law of hostages and the forced loan were abolished; the priests and other persons proscribed by the revolution of the 18th of Fructidor permitted to return, and other humane measures adopted. A provisional government having been established, it remained to form a permanent Constitution.

"I was convinced," said Napoleon, "that France could not exist but under a monarchical form of government; but the circumstances of the times were such that it was thought, and perhaps was, necessary to disguise the supreme power of the President. All opinions were reconciled by the nomination of the *First Consul*, who alone should possess the authority of government, since he singly disposed of all situations, and possessed a deliberative voice, while the two others were merely his advisers. That supreme officer gave the government the advantage of unity of direction; the two others, whose names appeared to every public act, would soothe the Repub-

lican jealousy. The circumstances of the times would not permit a better form of government." After long discussion this project was adopted. The government was, in fact, exclusively placed in the hands of the First Consul; the other two Consuls had a right to enlighten him by their counsels, but not to restrain him by their vote. General Bonaparte was nominated First Consul for ten years.

On the 24th of December, 1799, the new Constitution, thus framed, was proclaimed. Two Consuls, denominated the Second Consul, and the Third Consul, eighty senators, a hundred tribunes, and three hundred legislators, were forthwith nominated, and proceeded to the exercise of all the functions of government. Siêyes and Roger Ducos retired from the government, and received grants of money and lands, for their eminent public services; and Napoleon appointed in their stead Cambacérès and Le Brun, men of probity, moderation, and ability, who worthily discharged the subordinate functions assigned to them in the new administration.

Talleyrand was made minister of foreign affairs, and Fouché, with his dark record, retained in that of the police. Siêyes strongly opposed the continuance of Fouché in office, but was over-ruled by Napoleon, who understood his great fitness for such a position, and observed: "We have arrived at a new era; we must recollect in the past only the good, and forget the bad. Age, the habits of business, and experience, have formed or modified many characters."

The Constitution of the year VIII., as it was termed, thus new-modeled, and destroying, as it did, most of the objects for which the French people had struggled for

ten years, was gladly adopted by an enormous majority of the electors.

It was approved by 3,011,007 citizens against only 1,562 in the negative, while that of 1793 had only received 1,801,918 votes, and that of 1795, which established the Executive Directory, but 1,057,390 votes. And, as was observed, "The nation was as unanimous in 1799 to terminate the era of Revolution, as in 1789 it had been to commence it." To the people of France, ten such years had wrought a century of experience. When it was proposed to make him First Consul for life, with the power to name his successor, 3,577,259 citizens cast their votes, and out of this number 3,568,885 voted in the affirmative, and only eight thousand and some hundred in the negative. No government ever obtained such an endorsement, and none ever merited it in the same degree.

This result having been verified, the Senate issued a *Senatus-Consulte*, in three articles. The first was couched in these terms: "The *French people* Appoints, and the Senate Proclaims, Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul for Life."

It was only from this epoch that the Christian name of *Napoleon* began to appear in the public acts, together with the family name of Bonaparte, which only, up to that time, was known to the world. This illustrious prenomén, had hitherto been employed but once, namely, in the constituent act making him President of the Italian Republic.

The second article of the *Senatus-Consulte* declared, that a statue of Peace, holding a laurel in one hand and in the other the decree of the Senate, should perpetuate the gratitude of the nation to posterity.



Finally, the third article declared, that the Senate, in a body, should proceed to the First Consul with this *Senatus-Consulte*, the expression of the Confidence, Love, and Admiration of the French people. These three expressions are used in the decree itself. The First Consul had done much to deserve these sentiments on the part of the French people. By his negotiations he had changed the feelings and the attitude of almost the whole of Europe from one of hostility to one of good will towards France. He had reorganized the finances, restored public credit, paid the creditors of the state in cash, established the Bank of France, repaired the public roads, suppressed highway robbery, constructed splendid roads over the Alps, founded Hospices on their summits in commemoration of the important services rendered by the monks of the Great St. Bernard to the French army during the passage of the Alps in 1800 by the First Consul, who retained a deeply grateful recollection of the food and wine they had served to every man as his hungry soldiers passed their convent at the summit amid snow and ice—began the great fortifications of Alessandria, improved those of Mantua, opened canals, erected new bridges, and commenced the compilation of the Codes. At length, after an armistice of six months, Austria still refusing peace, he had equipped a splendid army of 110,000 men, generously confiding the command of it to Moreau, who gained the memorable victory of Hohenlinden, and extorted a new treaty of peace, almost under the walls of Vienna, which had just been concluded at Lunéville.

The First Consul of France had, in effect, the power of the Roman emperors; he now possessed the hereditary authority, that is to say, the choice of appointing his

successor, natural or adopted. And yet, it was still too soon for an Empire, in name, at all events.

"Augustus knew well," says Gibbon, "that mankind are governed by names, and that they will, in general, submit to real slavery, if they are told that they are in the enjoyment of freedom." No man understood this principle better than Napoleon, or ever used it with more consummate skill to pave the way to despotic power, by publishing to the world proclamations filled with the spirit of Democratic freedom, while suppressing the liberty of the press, and taking measures for the overthrow of many of the principles of the Revolution. Despite his immense popularity, it was clearly understood, as has been said that, "It was not, however, in a day that the authority of one could supersede that mob government in which so many, alternately oppressed or oppressors, had enjoyed for a moment a share of the supreme power. It was necessary in order to save appearances, and to induce harassed France to submit to absolute power, that she should pass through a glorious, restorative, and semi-republican government. It was requisite, in short, that the Consulate should pave the way for the Empire."

To make head against the combined powers of the Austrian and British empires with a defeated army, a bankrupt treasury, with the social, religious, and financial conditions a chaos of ruin and disorder, and a desperate civil war raging in La Vendee and Brittany against the government at Paris, was the herculean task which awaited the First Consul, to whom the nation looked for salvation. The powers which he possessed for it were great, but the difficulties attending its execution seemed almost insurmountable. It was necessary to attend to everything at the same time, in this state of the

country, uptorn, as it was, from its foundations, but he soon showed that he was equal to the attempt. The first step which he took in this gigantic undertaking was to introduce some degree of order into the finances, which had fallen into the most deplorable state. A deficit of 600,000,000 francs existed in the revenue of the preceding year; and recovery of arrears of taxes was impossible from the general penury and misery which prevailed. The public securities,—though two-thirds had been repudiated—had fallen to seven, about a thirty-eighth part of their value in 1789, at the commencement of the Revolution, while the treasury was absolutely empty.

Amid the universal dismay, extortion, pillage, and corruption were general among the servants of the government; offices were openly put up for sale, and clothing, provisions and stores for the army sold for the benefit of such corruptionists. The establishment of the firm and powerful government of the First Consul arrested these disorders, and re-established the finances as if by enchantment.

No more striking proof of the confidence of holders of property in France in the First Consul could have been given than was afforded by the great rise of the public funds.

As low as seven before the 18th of Brumaire, they rose at once to sixteen when he seized the helm, and advanced with every addition to his authority; and after the consulship for life was proclaimed, reached fifty-two, thus proving that glory, beyond its own glitter, has also its material advantages in business—resting, in this instance, upon the general conviction of the power of Bonaparte's sword to protect the national independence

against all foes. The capitalists, long inaccessible to the demands for loans by the Directory, at once offered a large loan in specie to the new government, and money flowed into the treasury from other sources, out of which enough was sent to the destitute armies on the frontiers to enable them to maintain their organization and face the enemy, till stronger measures could be prepared. Confidence, in a word, was restored, everything was taken in good part, while all France, dismissing its fears, roused itself to second his efforts.

The old banks of discount in France had fallen, in consequence of the disorders of the Revolution. The new government recognized as an urgent necessity, that, in every centre of business, there must be some medium for the discount of commercial bills on a large scale, and that there must be a monetary accommodation for payments, that is to say, a paper money, these two services mutually aiding each other, for the funds deposited, in payment of bills of exchange, are the same which are applied in commercial loans in the way of discount. But the government also desired the services of a powerful financial institution, which would be able to assist the fiscal operations of the national treasury, in addition to its transactions with individuals, in the general course of commerce and business throughout the country. And, while the long deliberations upon the Civil Code are going on, it will be convenient to present a brief account of the measures taken to establish a new, strong and permanent system of banking and finance, together with his views as to the government of the Colonies, and the treatment of the Race Question, both very serious problems at that time. Early in the year 1800 the First

Consul called forth the principal bankers of Paris, and there was composed an association for the incorporation of a bank, which was called

### THE BANK OF FRANCE:

the same which exists to this day, and now occupies the foremost position among all the great Banks of the world.

Its original capital was thirty millions of francs. Its government was to be by twelve regents and a directing committee, of three, for which committee a governor was afterwards substituted. It was intended, according to its charter, to discount commercial bills representing real transactions, but not bills of accommodation; to circulate bank notes redeemable in cash, and to keep itself aloof from all speculations, other than those of discounts and exchange. And bank notes could be issued by no other institution in the country. The government paid the semi-annual interest on the public debt through the Bank, and before it had existed six months its notes were accepted by the public as readily as specie, all of which may now appear ordinary enough; but, at that time, after the aversion which the government assignats had caused for paper, and after innumerable bankruptcies, it was regarded as a sort of commercial prodigy. The government had not stopped there, but had deposited with the Bank in account current the surplus of the disposable funds. Having all at once such resources at its disposal, the Bank had lost no time in discounting, in issuing notes, which, always redeemed in specie, if the holders so desired, had soon acquired the value of such money. Thus, in a few months, by those able and judi-

cious measures, the government had not only raised itself a powerful auxiliary, which, for the aid it had received at the outset, could then render it service to the amount of hundreds of millions of francs, but would, also, render inestimable services to the entire business and commercial interests of the country by providing a safe and convenient medium for their transaction.

The young general was no novice in the art of governing, for he had for five years carried on war, provided by his own measures for the maintenance of the armies he had commanded, administered and collected the revenues of the countries he had conquered, negotiated with Europe in the most brilliant manner; but finance, and a sound fiscal policy were subjects upon which technical knowledge was indispensable.

Having profound knowledge of men in general, gifted with rapid penetration and a prodigious memory, he called before him many special men in that line, the only men to whom he did listen, and then solely on the subject of their special pursuit. The First Consul possessed, in an almost unequalled degree, the ability of choosing the best qualified men for the work they were to perform. Among much more prominent and influential men who aspired to the administration of the finances, he chose one, M. Gaudin, who had formerly been a head clerk in the bureau of finance: a man of solid understanding and having great experience, who had rendered, both under the old system of the monarchy, and in the earlier years of the Revolution, those little known but invaluable administrative services with which governments cannot dispense. In this great office, which he held for fifteen years, till the downfall of the Empire, during which the Emperor created him Duke of Gaeta, he never ceased

to render the most important and eminent services to the state.

With the aid and advice of such men was the Bank of France established, upon principles of banking so sound and lasting, that, faithful to its statutes, it has never ceased to grow and prosper, and has become the greatest and strongest institution of its kind in the world.

And not less ably were the measures devised to place the national financial system upon a good and secure basis. The government first took advantage of the great revival of business and credit to substitute the plan of the creation of *rentes* to that of the sale of the national domains at low prices; in this manner it discharged by a small portion of these domains, and by the creation of *rentes*, the deficits left unpaid in the years V., VI., VII., and VIII.; it completed the liquidation of the floating public debt, and insured the payment of the interest in a certain and regular manner.

After having thus regulated or discharged old accounts, saved the remainder of the domains of the State, and fixed the amount of the debt, there would be an annual interest of 100,000,000 francs, an ample sinking fund, and finally a budget with an equal income and expenditure.

The news of the great victory of Marengo, and of the successes of the army of the Rhine under General Moreau in Bavaria, filled the country with joy and caused a universal feeling of the certainty of a speedy and glorious peace. At the same time a decree of the three Consuls announced to the holders of the public securities that the interest of the first six months, which would

end on the 22nd of September, 1800, *would be paid to them entirely in silver*. Doubly welcome news; such as had not been given for many a day, in fact, not since the commencement of the Revolution, to the unfortunate creditors of the State! The five per cent. funds, which had been sold, on the day of the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, for thirteen francs, had now risen to forty and promised to reach fifty francs. This financial phenomenon had produced a great effect, and it was regarded as not the least of the victories of the First Consul, who governed and made war in a manner equally superior and uncommon.

#### SYSTEM OF INDIRECT TAXATION

The territorial burdens of France during the progress of the Revolution had become enormous; the land tax amounting to a full fifth of the whole profit derived from cultivation by the nation, and the inequality in the distribution of this burden being so excessive, that in many places the land owners paid thirty, forty, fifty, and even eighty per cent. on their incomes. (Duc de Gaeta. 1, p. 196.) The enormity of this evil attracted the attention of Napoleon, and his sagacious mind at once perceived the superiority of taxes on consumption, which, confounded with the price of the articles on which they were laid, were hardly felt as a grievance, over an enormous direct payment from the proprietors to the government, which fell with excessive and intolerable severity upon a particular class of tax-payers. This able measure of indirect taxation, under the name of *Droits Réunis*, was organized under his direct auspices, and soon formed an important part of the revenue, thus enabling



the government to diminish the land-taxes by an equal amount so easily raised from all consumers.

VIEWS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONIES,  
AND THE RACE ISSUE

About this time, a project to establish chambers of agriculture in the colonies was considered in the Council of State, and they were decreed, but the war which soon broke out with England, and the frightful disorders in Hayti, Martinique and the other colonies in the West Indies, prevented the plan being carried into execution. The principles advanced by Napoleon upon this subject, however, are admirable for their wisdom and justice.

"Doubtless," said he, "you must govern the colonies by force; but there can be no force without justice. Government must be informed as to the real situation of the colonies, and for this purpose must patiently hear the parties interested; for it is not sufficient to acquire the character of justice that the ruling power does what is right. It is also necessary that the most distant subjects of the Empire should be convinced that this is the case, and this they will never be unless they are sensible that they have been fully heard. Were the Council of State composed of angels or gods, who could perceive at a glance everything that should be done, it would not be sufficient, unless the colonists had the conviction that they had been fully and impartially heard. All power must be founded on opinion; it is in order to form it that an institution similar to that proposed is indispensable.

"At present there is no constitutional channel of communication between France and the colonies; the most

absurd reports are in circulation there as to the intentions of the central government, and it is as little informed as to the real wants and necessities of its distant possessions. If government had, on the other hand, a colonial representation to refer to, it would become acquainted with the truth, it would proclaim it, and transmit it in its despatches to its colonial subjects.

"Commerce and the colonies have opposite interests; the first is that of purchasers and consumers, the latter that of raisers and producers. No sooner is it proposed to impose duties on colonial produce, than I am besieged with memorials from all the chambers of commerce in France, but no one advances anything in behalf of the colonies; the law, whatever it is, arrives there in unmitigated rigour, without the principles which led to it being explained, or their receiving any assurance that their interests have been balanced with those of the other side. But the colonists are Frenchmen and our brothers; they bear a part of the public burdens, and the least that can be done for them in return is to give them such a shadow of a representation.

"Many persons here see only in the colonies the partisans of the English; that is held out merely as a pretext for subjecting them to every species of insult. Had I been at Martinique, I should have espoused the cause of the English, for the first of social duties is the preservation of life.

"Had any of your philanthropic liberals come out to Egypt to proclaim liberty to the blacks or the Arabs, I would have hung him from the masthead.

"In the West Indies similar enthusiasts have delivered over the whites to the ferocity of the blacks, and yet they complain of the victims of such madness being discon-

tented. How is it possible to give liberty to the Africans when they are destitute of any species of civilization, and are ignorant of what a colony or a mother country is?

“Do you suppose that, had the majority of the Constituent Assembly been aware what they were doing, they would have given liberty to the blacks? Certainly not; but few persons at that time were sufficiently far-sighted to foresee the result, and feelings of humanity are ever powerful with excited imaginations. But now, after the experience we have had, to maintain the same principles cannot be done in good faith; it can be the result only of overweening self-confidence or hypocrisy.” Words of true political wisdom, which demonstrate how admirably qualified Napoleon was to have held, with just and even hands, the reins of power in a vast and varied empire, and which have since become of still greater value from the contrast they afford to the measures subsequently pursued by the United States with regard to the Negro.

#### FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1805

During the whole of 1805, the Bank of France, yielding to the general flood of prosperity in the Empire, and urged on by the constant demand for discount on the part of all the contractors and others engaged in the public service, from the expenditure of government constantly keeping in advance of the receipts of the treasury, had been progressively enlarging its discounts, and before September they had risen to more than double the usual amount. The sagacious mind of Napoleon, who was then in his camps on the Channel preparing for the invasion of England, perceived the seeds of future evil

in the apparent prosperity produced by that excessive increase, and he wrote the minister, M. Marbois, on the subject and warned him of the danger of the Bank of France trusting too far the delusive credit of individuals, or pushing to an undue length, in the form of a paper circulation, the royal privilege of coining money. These are his words in that letter, dated September 24, 1805 :

“The evil originates in the Bank having transgressed the law. What has the law done? It has given the privilege of coining money in the form of paper to a particular company; but what did it intend by so doing? Assuredly, that the circulation thus granted should be based on solid credit. The bank appears to have adopted a most erroneous principle, which is, to discount to individuals, not in proportion to their real capital, but the number of shares of its capital stock which they possess. That, however, is no real test of solvency. How many persons may be possessed of fifty or a hundred of such shares, and yet be so embarrassed that no one would lend them a single farthing? The paper of the Bank is thus issued in many, perhaps a majority of cases, not on real credit, but on a delusive supposition of wealth. In one word, in discounting after this manner the Bank *is coining false money*. So clearly do I see the dangers of such a course that, if necessary, I would stop the pay of my soldiers rather than persevere in it.

“I am distressed beyond measure at the necessities of my situation, which by compelling me to live in camps and engaging me in distant expeditions, withdrawing my attention from what would otherwise be the chief object of my anxiety, the first wish of my heart, a good and solid organization of all which concerns the interest of banks, manufactures and commerce.” And the his-

torian exclaims, "what admirable wisdom in this great man, conceived at the camp of Boulogne, in the midst of the boundless arrangements which the sudden march of the army to Ulm, already commenced, must have required, and of which his correspondence furnishes such ample proof!" (Bignon, V., 85, 86.)

The successful conclusion of the German war by the astonishing victories at Ulm and Austerlitz, and the imposition of an immense war indemnity upon defeated Austria, which was immediately paid in specie, at once relieved the very severe monetary crisis which had in the autumn of 1805, caused widespread failures and disasters in France. The Emperor took decisive measures to guard against another similar crisis. "I will have no alliance," said he, "between the bank and the treasury. If such existed, a simple movement of the funds might reveal the most important state secrets. We cannot too soon sign an arrêt for the emancipation of the treasury." The difficulty was, that the treasury had to pay every twelve months 120,000,000 francs more than it received, because of the delay of all payments of taxes. To liquidate part of this debt, 60,000,000 was funded in the five per cents; the capital of the Bank of France was increased from 30,000,000 to 60,000,000 francs, and certain interest was offered the receivers-general of taxes for all moneys deposited prior to the time when they were bound to make them forthcoming. In this way, the necessity of resorting to paper credit to raise funds upon anticipated revenue was thenceforth avoided.

From that time to the present the growth of France in actual wealth has been great and sure. Aided by a limited number of other financial institutions, almost as

strong as the Bank of France itself, the latter is yet the main factor in its splendid financial system.

**PRESENT POWER AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BANK  
OF FRANCE**

As administered at the present time, the interest rates used throughout the country are regulated at the Central office in Paris. The same rates are used in the transaction of the business of discounts and advances at the branches of the Bank, in, or connected with the chief towns of the country, thus giving the benefits of the rates allowed at Paris itself to the most remote districts—an equalized advantage quite impossible, under the system of banking and finance in the United States. The rate of discount has never been raised by the Bank above 9 per cent.

While it makes it a point to keep on hand, at all times, several hundred millions of dollars of coin and bullion, its general assets and credit are the only security for its notes; though, in case of necessity it would have the support of the credit of the government, of which, it is, in large measure, the fiscal agent. While redeemed in gold, the notes of the Bank of France are legal tender. The maximum limit has now reached 5,800,000,000 francs. As payments in France are generally made by bank notes or specie, instead of cheques, a large issue of notes is required, and six or seven times the amount of its deposits are sometimes issued by the Bank.

When gold is demanded for export, in excessive amounts, a premium is charged to protect the reserve.

A most striking proof of the tremendous power France enjoys as a result of the soundness of its financial and

industrial foundations, was afforded by the unlooked-for conclusion of the Moroccan crisis in 1911, between France, supported by England, on the one hand, and Germany on the other, in which war was only avoided by the practical surrender of German pretensions, rather thinly disguised to save appearances for the latter, whose financial weakness had suddenly manifested itself. With the apparent near approach of hostilities, and the mere notice of the withdrawal of French and English credits, national bankruptcy nearly overwhelmed the Empire, revealing to the world the ominous truth that the German Colossus stands upon "feet of clay," financially, and that the Empire did not possess, and could not obtain, the money for maintaining in the field, for three months even, the half of its military forces, without reckoning expenses of its fleets at all! That its forced, over-developed industrial system, burdened with debt, and much of it unprofitable, only escaped total bankruptcy in the enormous shrinkage in values, by the desperate measure, adopted by the imperial government, of forbidding any transactions whatever in such securities in the German stock exchanges.

*This* was the real cause, it is said on high authority, of the German back-down, and in 1913 that country was still painfully striving to emerge from the ruins, and re-establish German credit. But in France and England the prospect of instant war with Germany failed to cause the slightest symptoms of panic. Like a flash, it has, likewise, been revealed to the rest of the nations *that France and England, in fact, control the money of the world!* And that against a word from them, no other

nation would venture to lend Germany a penny, even if inclined to do so.

France possesses an economical basis of wealth peculiarly its own. It does not enter, to a marked extent, into competition with the great coal and iron producing countries like Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, although rich in both products. But, it is possessed of almost a monopoly of providing luxuries of every sort, and high-dizened pleasures, for the wealth, fashion and elegance of the whole world, and in return realizes in actual cash, in which such things must always be paid for, profits so immense and never-failing, that it can well afford to forego, in large measure, the keen competition and narrow profits in the coal and iron industries.

By eminent French authority, it was estimated ten years ago that the French people then had an annual average surplus of over six hundred million dollars for investment in gilt-edge foreign securities, and there is no doubt this amount has largely increased with every year since then. The other nations must look to that prodigious store of wealth for loans. The United States is a persistent borrower of French money, to enormous amounts, which has largely paid for the vast system of underground roads, railway terminals, tunnels, etc., now being completed in New York City, including also part of the cost of many of the largest of the new types of office-buildings.

And it is hardly too much to believe that France is actually lending much of the very money, upon good security, of course, which Americans of every class and condition so foolishly and recklessly squander, by un-



numbered millions of dollars, in that matchless playground of the world.

Contrast the stability and security in finance and business in France, resulting from the profoundly wise measures adopted by the Great Consul in 1800, and ever since adhered to, with the dangerous, unstable financial system in operation in the United States, based upon many thousands of national, state, and private banks, most of which are so weak in capital and resources as to afford no protection whatever to borrowers in times of panic, and very little help in the almost constant recurrences of *semi-panics*, under which this country has struggled for many years past.

Only the fact that its margin of credit is based upon the resources of a Continent, but partially developed, enables the United States to borrow the money to pay its way, thus far, of waste, extravagance, and the interest on its stupendous debts to France and Great Britain.

In comparison of territory and natural resources, Germany is but a "spot on the map," and has practically exhausted its further borrowing power based upon such an asset as undeveloped territorial wealth.

A recent consular report contains a summary, collected by high foreign financial authority, showing the distribution of stock-exchange securities among the principal nations, including Japan, and a summary for the smaller countries.

It presents a total for 1910 of \$115,800,000,000: of this amount France and England owned \$48,636,000,000. But, unlike the other nations, much the greater part of the securities owned by France and England, are due

from foreign nations, who must pay constant tribute to them in gold.

Russia's obligations to France now exceed \$3,500,000,000, and the thrift of this great creditor nation can be no better exemplified than by the fact that France has saved the interest on the Russian loans to such an extent that the vast principal is now clear gain. French capital has extended into many quarters of the globe. The railway system of Spain is practically owned by France, while the Bank of Japan, the largest financial institution in Japan, is entirely controlled by French money, as is, likewise, the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Constantinople, which dictates the financial affairs of Turkey.

Although the United States is credited with holding \$25,000,000,000, in round figures, of stock-exchange securities in 1910, they are almost entirely domestic, and hence little foreign money comes into the country as interest or dividends upon that prodigious sum.

Besides which, as a constant borrower from France and England, with these domestic securities as collateral, the actual incomes of France and England are so much the more from such stock-exchange securities, by the interest so paid, and our own by so much the less.

Germany is credited with about \$17,000,000,000 of stock-exchange securities in 1910, and, although holding a much greater percentage of foreign securities than the United States, is, nevertheless, burdened, like the United States, with many billions of "promises to pay" in the form of *watered* railway and industrial stocks, of little worth in times of stress, and in no great demand abroad.

## THE CODE NAPOLEON

While the great and beneficent plans which have been referred to were being carried out, the First Consul had taken the first measures for the compilation of the Civil Code. The task of digesting the materials for this code was intrusted to several of the ablest lawyers of France. The result of their labours was submitted to the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal of the country, and to twenty-nine tribunals of appeal.

The opinions of the whole judiciary were thus collected, and the work submitted to the Council of State for consideration, under the Presidency of the First Consul. Afterwards it was to be submitted for approval to the Legislative Body.

"In contemplating this work," says Alison, "it is difficult whether to admire most the wisdom with which he called to his assistance the ablest lawyers of the old régime, the readiness with which he apprehended the difficult and intricate questions which were brought under discussion, or the prudence with which he steered between the vehement passions and contending interests which arose in legislating for an empire composed of the remains of monarchical and Republican institutions. It is no longer the conqueror of Rivoli or Austerlitz whom we recognize; it is Solon legislating for a distracted people; it is Justinian digesting the treasures of ancient jurisprudence that arises to our view; and the transient glories even of the imperial reign fade before the durable monument which his varied genius has erected in the permanent codes of half of Europe."

It is observed by Lord Bacon, that when "laws have

been heaped upon laws in such a state of confusion as to render it necessary to revise them and collect their spirit into a new and intelligible system, those who accomplish such an heroic task have a good right to be named among the benefactors of mankind." "Never," Alison proceeds, "was the justice of this observation more completely demonstrated than by the result of the labours of the First Consul in the formation of the Code Napoleon.

"The complication of the old laws of France, the conflicting authority of the civil law, the parliaments of the provinces, and the local customs, had formed a chaos of confusion which had suggested to many statesmen before the Revolution the necessity of some attempt to reduce them to a uniform system.

"The difficulty of the task was immensely increased by the Revolution; by the total change in the most important branches of jurisprudence, personal liberty, the rights of marriage, the descent of property, and the privileges of citizenship which it occasioned, and the large inroads which revolutionary legislation had made on the broken and disjointed statutes of the monarchy. To reform a system of law without destroying it is one of the most difficult tasks in political improvement. The only way in which it is possible to avoid these dangers is to remedy experienced evils, and extend experienced benefits only, without advancing into the tempting but dangerous regions of speculative improvement. It is the clearest proof that the Code of Napoleon was formed on these wise principles, that it has not only survived the Empire which gave it birth, but continues, under new dynasties and different forms of government, to regulate

the decisions of many nations who were leagued to bring about the overthrow of its author.

"Napoleon commenced his legislative reforms by calling to his councils the most distinguished lawyers of the monarchy. Tronchet, Portalis, Roederer, Thibau-deau, Cambacérès, Le Brun, were his chief coadjutors in this Herculean task; but although he required of these eminent legal characters the benefit of their extensive experience, he joined in the discussions himself, and struck out new and important views on the most abstract questions of civil right with a facility which astonished the counselors, who had been accustomed to consider only his military exploits.

"To the judgment of none did the First Consul so readily defer as to that of Tronchet; notwithstanding his advanced age and monarchical prepossessions, he deemed no one so worthy as the illustrious defender of Louis XVI. to take the lead in framing the code for the Empire. Napoleon presided at almost all the meetings of the commission for the formation of the Civil Code, and took such a vivid interest in the debates, that he frequently remained at them six or eight hours a day.

"Free discussion in that assembly gave him the highest gratification: he provoked it, sustained it, and shared in it.

"He spoke without preparation, without embarrassment, without pretension; in the style rather of free and animated conversation than premeditated or labored discussion. He never appeared inferior to any members of the Council, often equal to the ablest of them in the readiness with which he caught the point at issue, and the logical force with which he supported his opinions, and not unfrequently superior to any in the originality and vigor of his expressions.

"The varied powers and prodigious capacity of Napoleon's mind nowhere appeared in such brilliant colors as on those occasions, and would appear hardly credible if authentic evidence on the subject did not exist in the *procès verbaux* of those memorable discussions."

The former minister of marine to Louis XVI., de Molleville, and a man of no ordinary capacity, said, in reference to these discussions, "Napoleon was certainly an extraordinary man; we were very far, indeed, from appreciating him across the Channel. From the moment that I looked into the discussions on the civil code, I conceived the most profound admiration for his capacity. It is utterly inconceivable where he acquired so much information on these subjects."

"His education on this subject," Thiers remarks, "had been soon perfected. Interested in everything, because he understood everything, he asked for law books, and especially for the materials prepared by the commission for the compilation of the new Civil Code. Soon classifying in his head the general principles of civil law, adding to these a profound knowledge of men, and a perfectly clear mind, he had made himself capable of directing so important a work, and even suggested himself a large proportion of just, new and profound ideas. Sometimes a want of knowledge of these matters led him to support strange notions; but he was soon convinced by the wise men who surrounded him, and he was superior to them all, when it was required to draw, from the conflict of the most contrary opinions, the most natural and rational conclusions. The principal service rendered by the First Consul, was to lend to the completion of this fine work, great firmness of mind and perseverance, thus overcoming the two difficulties on which, until then, they had split,

namely, the infinite diversity of opinions, and the impossibility of working steadily during the troubles of the day. When the discussion, as frequently happened, was tedious, diffuse, and obstinate, the First Consul knew how to renew it, or cut it short by a word; and, moreover, he made every one work by working all day himself."

The first book of the Civil Code was finished, and submitted to the Legislative Chambers. Portalis, the councillor of state, read an address, which has ever since enjoyed a just celebrity, on the subject of the Civil Code. The first three heads of that code were brought up at the same time by three able councillors of state for special exposition: the first related to The Publication of the Laws: the second to The Enjoyment and the Privation of Civil Rights: the third to The Acts of the Civil State.

Contrary to all expectation the new code at first met with strong opposition in the chambers, and was assailed with sarcastic criticisms by many of the ablest speakers. "Now that time has obtained universal esteem for that Code," says Thiers, "one would scarcely conceive all the objections urged against it at that period. The opposition at first expressed great astonishment on finding that Code so simple, and that it had so little novelty! What, said they, is that all?—in that bill (*projet*) there is no new conception, no great legislative creation which is peculiar to French society, which can stamp it with a particular and durable character; it is but a translation of the Roman or common law! Its authors have taken Domat, Pothier, the Institutes of Justinian, they have digested into French all that they contained; they have divided this into articles, and connected these articles by numbers rather than by a logical deduction; and then they present this compilation to France, as a monument

which has a claim to its admiration and its respect! Benjamin Constant, Andrieux and others, jeered the councillors of state, saying, that *it was lawyers, under the guidance of a soldier*, who had made this paltry compilation, pompously called the Civil Code of France. M Portalis, and the men of sense who were his fellow-labourers, replied that, on the subject of legislation, the point was not to be original, but clear, just, and judicious; that they had not a new society to constitute, like Lycurgus or Moses, but an old society to reform in some points, and to restore in many others; that the French law had subsisted for ten centuries; that it was the product at once of Roman science, of feudalism, of monarchy, and of the modern spirit, acting together for a long period of time on French manners; that the civil law of France, resulting from these different causes, had now to be adapted to a society which had ceased to be aristocratic and become democratic; that it was necessary, for example, to revise the laws relative to marriage, to the paternal authority, to successions, to divest them of everything that was repugnant to the spirit of the present times; that it was necessary to purge the laws relative to property of all feudal servitude; to draw up this mass of prescriptions in clear, precise language, which should afford no occasion for ambiguities, for endless disputes; and to put the whole into excellent order; that this was the only monument to be erected. . . . All this was perfectly reasonable and true. In this respect the Code was a master-piece of legislation. Grave lawyers, full of learning and experience, thoroughly acquainted with the language of the law, under the guidance of a chief—a soldier, it is true, but of a superior mind, capable of deciding their doubts and keeping them at



work—had composed this splendid digest of French law completely purified from feudal law. It was impossible to do otherwise or do better.

“It is true that, in this vast Code, one might here and there substitute one word for another word, transpose an article from one place to another place; one might do it without much danger, but likewise without much utility; and that is precisely what even well-intentioned assemblies are fond of doing, solely that they may have some hand in the work which is submitted to them. Sometimes, in fact, after the presentation of an important bill (*projet de loi*) we see men of subordinate and ignorant minds lay hold of a legislative work, the fruit of profound experience and long labour, alter this and that, and make out of a perfectly connected whole a shapeless incoherent mass, without relation to the existing laws and to the real facts.”

The first article of the preliminary portion of the new Code related to the promulgation of the laws. Under the ancient system no law could go into effect, after its passage, until the old provincial parliaments and the tribunals had formally assented to its registration in their respective local records. That system had in its day been a useful barrier in the struggle between the local parliaments and the tyranny of the monarchy, but was wholly out of date when representative assemblies, granting or refusing taxes, came into existence. In place of this antiquated method, a new Code provided that the laws should be promulgated by the executive power alone, and go into effect twenty-four hours after promulgation at the seat of government, and in the rest of the country after a delay proportioned to the distances.

The second article forbade any retroactive effect of

the laws. Some great errors of the National Convention on this point had made it necessary to lay it down as a fundamental principle, that the law could never disturb the past, and should regulate only the future. The third section after limiting the operation of laws as to time, then limited their action as to places: declaring what laws should follow Frenchmen beyond the territories of France, and be obligatory on them in all places, and what laws should be obligatory only in the territory of France on all, natives and foreigners alike. The fourth article obliged the judge to try, even when the law seemed to him insufficient; frequently judges had fraudfully evaded the obligation to render justice, upon such alleged grounds.

But it was requisite at the same time to prevent the judge from constituting himself legislator under the cover of judicial construction, and the fifth section forbade tribunals to decide anything but the special case which was submitted to them, and to pronounce then by way of the general disposition. The last, or sixth article, limited the natural right of persons to waive the benefit of certain laws, by special agreements. It made the laws relating to public order, to good behaviour, to the ties of families, absolute and impossible to be evaded; also providing that no person could withdraw himself from them by any particular agreement.

And yet these most salutary reforms were bitterly assailed in the Tribune, and this preliminary part rejected by a vote of 39 to 15, and in the Legislative Body by 142 to 139. It was made clear to the First Consul that the Tribune was preparing a like fate for the other two parts of the Code which had been submitted at the same time as this preliminary part. The Second Consul,

Cambacérès, advised the First Consul that it would be necessary to withdraw the Civil Code, to leave the deliberative bodies nothing to do, and to throw upon them, as a public reproach, the compulsory inaction to which the government would be reduced. A message was prepared by the First Consul himself, in a noble and severe style, to announce to the Legislative Bodies that the Civil Code was withdrawn. The message was as follows: "Legislators—The government has resolved to withdraw the *projets de loi* of the Civil Code. It is with pain that it finds itself obliged to defer till a future period the laws so anxiously awaited by the nation; but it is convinced that the time is not yet come, when these important discussions can be carried on with the calmness and unity of purpose which they require."

At the ensuing election to fill one-fifth of the seats in those Bodies, which, fortunately, took place very soon afterwards, a new membership, possessing the requisite "calmness and unity of purpose" for such discussions, was instantly obtained, in the place of the deeply chagrined and discredited leaders of the opposition, whose hold-over followers experienced a sudden revolution of sentiment upon the subject, so complete, indeed, that there was no further difficulty in securing the adoption of the entire Civil Code, when it was again submitted to the Legislative Bodies for their action! The Civil Code of Napoleon is accompanied by a code of civil procedure in civil cases, and a code relating to commercial affairs which may be regarded as supplementary to the main body of municipal law. There is, besides, a Penal Code, and a code respecting the procedure against persons accused under it. The whole forms a grand system of jurisprudence, which finally, under the name of THE

CODE NAPOLEON, was adopted by France, and has ever since continued to perform its great functions to the highest good of its people.

By the Revolution the ancient French courts had been destroyed, and their various laws, whether written or consuetudinary, buried in the ruins, together with their records; their proceedings only served as matter of history or tradition, but could not be quoted in support or explanation of a code which had no existence until after their destruction. Hence the codifying committee endeavored to supply this defect in their system,—in other words, the lack of precedents, founded, as in English and American jurisprudence, upon a long and uniform course of decisions, based upon established principles—by drawing from their general rules such a number of corollary propositions, as might, so far as possible, serve for their application to special and particular cases; a deficiency which lapse of time and the course of decisions pronounced by able and learned judges, have naturally, gone far to remedy and remove.

The Code having been thus established, provision was made for its regular administration by suitable courts; the judges of which did not, as before the Revolution, depend for their emoluments upon the fees payable by the litigants, but were to be compensated by suitable salaries at the expense of the state. On the occasion of the establishment of the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal of France, the First Consul said to Bourrienne, his secretary, "I do not venture as yet to take any decided step against the regicides; but I will show what I think of them. To-morrow I shall be engaged with Abriel in the formation of the Court of Cassation. Target, who is its president, declined to defend Louis

XVI.; whom do you suppose I am about to name in his place? Tronchet, who so nobly discharged that perilous duty. They may say what they choose: my mind is made up." Tronchet accordingly received the appointment so richly deserved by his heroic conduct, as well as by his eminent fitness for that high position.

In making his judicial appointments the First Consul sought out, on all sides, men reputed honest and capable. Distinguished names, chosen from the ancient bar, and the ancient magistracy, were mingled, as much as possible, with recent names, borne by respectable people. These functionaries were directed to take possession instantly of their offices, and to play their parts in the work of reorganization.

"Another *arrêt*, at the same period," says Thibaudeau, "regulated the costume of the persons employed in the legal profession. The robes of the judges were ordered to be red, and those of the bar black. During the Revolution all the distinguishing marks had been abolished. The black robe which Molière had so exquisitely ridiculed, had given way to the costume of the sans-culottes. Everything breathed a return to the ancient *régime*. Cambacérès was the great promoter of these changes, well aware of the importance of whatever strikes the eye on the inconsiderate multitude."

"At present," said the First Consul, "a government must be formed with the men of the Revolution; with men who have had experience, who have performed services, who have no blood upon their hands, unless it be the blood of the Russians and the Austrians: then we must add to these a small number of men newly raised, duly qualified for employment, or men of the old

times, taken from Versailles, if you will, provided that they are also men of capacity, and that they take office as submissive adherents and not as disdainful protectors. . . . We must, above all, consecrate the great principle of the French Revolution, *which is civil liberty*, that is to say, equal justice in every branch, in legislation, in the courts, in the administration, the taxes, military service, and distribution of offices, etc. At present all Frenchmen are equal alike; every citizen obeys the same law, appears before the same judge, suffers the same punishment, receives the same reward, pays the same taxes, is subject to the same military service, is eligible to and attains the same rank, whatever may be his birth, his religion, or his place of origin.

"These are the great social results of the Revolution, which are well worth the troubles we have suffered in achieving them, and which we must unalterably maintain."

#### THE JUDICIARY ORGANIZATION

This important work was not less ably conceived. One of the first acts of the Revolutionary legislators had been to abolish courts of appeal, that is to say, the old provincial parliaments, whose oppressive conduct had caused them to be hated by the mass of the people, and, instead, to place in each department a single tribunal, termed "courts of the first instance," having original jurisdiction as to those amenable in the department; appeal had its recourse, not to a higher tribunal, but to a similar court sitting in some adjacent department. This judicial organization had signally failed, because an appeal from one tribunal of the first instance to another

tribunal of the first instance is in itself absurd, since appeals have little weight or value unless directed to superior enlightenment.

The First Consul, adopting the ideas of his colleague Cambacérès, caused the judiciary organization which exists to this day to be put in force.

Each department in France consists of two or more smaller districts, called *arrondissements*, each sufficient in area and population to require a court of original jurisdiction. A "tribunal of the first instance," was, therefore, created for each *arrondissement*. It was considered that courts of appeal for each department would be too much as regards numbers, and too little as regards importance and height of jurisdiction.

Twenty-nine "tribunals of appeal" were, therefore, created for the whole of France, which gave them much of the importance and dignity of the old provincial parliaments, and they were assigned to the same cities which had formerly enjoyed the benefits of the presence of those sovereign courts, in preference to rival cities, for, as was observed by the First Consul, "These were the old depositories of judicial traditions, the fragments of which well deserved to be collected. The bars of Aix, of Dijon, of Toulouse, of Bordeaux, of Rennes, of Paris, and the rest, were focuses of legal science and of talent which it was necessary to rekindle."

The new tribunals of the first instance were also empowered to attend to the correctional police, which doubled their usefulness, and placed the civil and preventive justice in the first degree within the *arrondissement*.

The system, and the right, of trial by juries, had been

introduced in criminal cases some years before, by the National Assembly. Political causes being out of the field, the trial by jury was retained in the new Code, so far as regarded criminal questions. The criminal courts were held at the chief town of the department, by means of judges detached from the twenty-nine tribunals of appeal, and coming round to direct the juries, or in one word, to hold assizes.

#### THE TRIBUNAL OF CASSATION

As has been eloquently written of this great court: "At the summit of the whole judicial edifice was still maintained with some modifications, and a repressive jurisdiction over all magistrates, the Tribunal of Cassation. This is one of the noblest monuments of the French Revolution; a tribunal which is not intended to judge, a third time, that which the tribunals of the first instance and of appeal have already judged twice; but which, leaving aside the base of the suit, interferes only when a doubt is raised on the true sense and meaning of the law; which determines this sense by a series of decisions; and thus adds to the unity of the text emanating from the legislature, a unity of interpretation emanating from a supreme jurisdiction."

Out of the many useful laws embraced in the Code Napoleon, it will be of interest to attempt here some discussion of two measures, which are of supreme importance in civilized society, namely, that relating to the Succession or Inheritance of Property, and that regarding the Dissolution of Marriage.



## THE LAW OF SUCCESSION, OR INHERITANCE

By this statute of the Code Napoleon, the Rights of Primogeniture, and the distinctions between Landed and Personal Property were abolished. Inheritances of every sort were thereafter to be divided equally among those related in an equal degree of consanguinity to the deceased person. The indefeasible right of children in the estate of their parents was declared to be a half if one child was left: two-thirds, if two: three-fourths if three or more; and all entails, or limitations of every kind were likewise abolished.

This great measure, carried through by Mirabeau in the Constituent Assembly, but not in the form as modified and adopted by the First Consul in the new Code, after careful consideration and amelioration of some harsh features, has been termed the Revolutionary Law of Succession. Closely identified, as it was, in the minds of the people with their first triumphs over the combined powers of the King, the Church, and the Nobility, and since become the foundation of the rights of a vast number of people, it had come to be considered the great charter of the public liberties, and any infringement upon it regarded as the first step towards a renewal of feudal oppressions.

Great astonishment was expressed by the English and Continental writers at what they termed the "Singular attachment of the modern French to a law which precludes all real liberty."

It was asserted by these enemies of the Revolution, who were also the advocates of monarchy, constitutional

or otherwise, as late as 1835, during the reign of Charles X., that the effect of this Revolutionary measure, fixing the rights of succession upon the principle of equal division, among heirs of equal degree, co-operating with the immense sub-division of landed property which took place between 1792 and 1804 from the sale to about 7,000,000 purchasers of the confiscated property of the Church, and the Nobility, including also the Crown domains which likewise fell to the Republic,—would, necessarily, render the situation of these little proprietors, “indigent in the extreme,” there being in 1815, it was shown, already an increase to nearly 8,000,000 such proprietors, taxed directly, who were worth in property only 4 pounds, or 100 francs per annum.

And, it was asserted in conclusion, by thus “preventing the growth of any hereditary class, to stand between the throne and the people, rendered the establishment of *constitutional* freedom utterly impracticable, and doomed the first of European monarchies to the slavery and decrepitude of Oriental Despotism.”

What those eight millions of “little proprietors” *had* been worth, or *would* be worth, *without* that small property, *as useful citizens and tax-payers*, was not discussed by those writers and “prophets of evil.” But what they *have* made themselves, and France, worth to-day *with* it, forms one of the most splendid vindications any law ever received!

Yet it was the profound conviction of many of the ablest thinkers and writers of that time, even after the law of succession had been in operation for forty years, that its ultimate effects would be fraught with ruin to the country, and by distributing the lands among 8,000,000 owners instead of the 100,000 who had owned it,

changed the conditions in France from "European to Asiatic civilization."

In their view, it was declared, that, "nothing more was requisite to explain the experienced impossibility of constructing a durable free government in that country," (see Sarran's, *Contre Révolution de 1830*) than the disturbing presence and influence of these 8,000,000 small, independent land owners, in the midst of whose increasing wealth and activities, on the one hand, and of the weakened support of an impecunious nobility on the other, the Bourbon throne could find no stable foundation, and was even then tottering to its fall.

The vanity and the futility of prophecy, in those days, as in others, is strikingly illustrated, especially in the light of its utter want of fulfillment, by the following expression upon the guilt of the confiscations in France, and of the certainty of the extent and character of the punishment the moral laws would inflict:

"It is a singular fact, pointing apparently to an important law in the moral world, that when men yield to the seductions of passion, and engage in a career of iniquity, they are led by an almost irresistible impulse to covet the very changes which are to lead to their own destruction, and cling with invincible tenacity to the institutions which are calculated to defeat the very objects on account of which all these crimes have been committed. The confiscation of property in France was the great and crying sin of the Revolution, because it extended the consequences of present violence to future ages, and injured the latest generations on account of the political differences of the present times; and it is precisely that circumstance which has rendered hopeless all the efforts for freedom made by the French people. By interesting

so great a number of persons in the work of spoliation, and extending so far the jealousy as to the nobles, by whom the confiscated properties might be resumed, it has led to the permanent settlement of the law of succession on the footing of equal division and perfect equality.

"Opinion there as elsewhere, founded on interest, has followed in the same direction. No doctrine is so generally prevalent in France as that this vast change is the leading benefit conferred upon the country by the Revolution, and yet nothing can be so evident to an impartial spectator as that it is precisely the circumstance which has ever since rendered nugatory all the attempts to establish public freedom there, because it has totally destroyed the features and the elements of European civilization, and left only Indian ryots engaged in hopeless contest with a metropolis wielding the influence of a central government, and the terrors of military power.

"The universality of the illusion under which the French labor on this subject is owing to the wide extent of the instinct which leads the Revolutionary party to shun everything that seems to favor an approach even to the restoration of the dispossessed proprietors; and in their terror of this remote and chimerical evil, they have adopted measures which, by preventing the growth of any hereditary class between the throne and the peasant, have rendered the establishment of constitutional freedom utterly impracticable, and doomed the first of European monarchies to the slavery and decrepitude of Oriental Despotism. By such mysterious means does human iniquity, even in this world, work out its merited punishment, and so indissoluble is the chain which unites guilty excess with ultimate retribution."

While thus only predicting future disaster and punish-

ment for the French people, as the inevitable consequence of the crimes of the Revolution, it seems strange that such writers either did not or could not perceive in the downfall of the French monarchy and the privileged classes anything resembling "punishment," for the wrongs and iniquities of their own past!

If the "great and crying sin of the Revolution," was the confiscation of the property of the privileged classes, "what," it might have been fairly asked by the French people, "had been the methods and instrumentalities by which it had been acquired, and so long monopolized?" If the property of the Church and of the nobility was taken by violence, it arose from the necessity of the case, for those in possession of power, place and riches will never voluntarily surrender them, nor consent to the abrogation of the laws upon which their privileges and separate existence depend.

The Revolutionary Law of Succession has worked another revolution in France—a lasting revolution—none the less profound and far-reaching, because peaceful in its operation, and it has done more than the guillotine to prevent the return to power of the privileged classes, or the reinstatement of the old oppressive, destructive laws.

Doubtless, it is true that there must exist a wealthy hereditary nobility, to stand between the throne and the people, as a kind of *social vegetation*, without the grateful shade and screen of which, the lonely occupant of a throne, thus left bare and exposed before the scrutinizing, disillusioned gaze of the vulgar herd, must soon lose much of "that divinity which doth hedge a king," and become as common-place as a mere president, who is set

up and taken down by the people themselves every few years.

The terrible punishments predicated upon the certain operation of the moral laws for their sins in the Revolution have, strangely enough, doubtless, resulted in conditions strongly resembling national power, honor and felicity; those unhappy people, those degraded "Indian ryots," with their "Asiatic civilization," have developed a pre-eminent capacity to manage their own affairs, and have demonstrated their ability to exist, not merely without a hereditary class between them and a throne, but also, to dispense, entirely, with the latter piece of furniture, and its occupant as well.

Constitutional freedom blesses France, and "a durable free government" has long been firmly established, but it is in the form of a great and noble REPUBLIC!

## THE DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

It is the purpose of this discussion upon the Dissolution of Marriage to draw attention to the National Divorce Laws of another great, and enlightened self-governing nation, like France, at a time when the American people are seriously deliberating whether to substitute a National Divorce Law for the United States, in place of those of forty-eight States, the want of uniformity among which has been so disastrous already, and which promises even greater evils, in the future.

### THE DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE IN FRANCE

The principle of permitting the dissolution of marriage had already been firmly established in France by

the Revolution, but, important deliberations, nevertheless, took place in the Council of State, a body of very able men consisting of about forty members, on the subject of the causes upon which it should be allowed, when that law was reconsidered under the Consulate.

At the time when the First Consul submitted it to the Council of State, it must be borne in mind that so great had become the corruption of morals and manners in France—as a consequence of the fearful disorders following the Revolution, the utter subversion of the Church and the restraining influences of religion, the decree that God did not exist, and that Man must thenceforth worship and be guided only by Reason, followed by the orgies and the saturnalia of the Goddess of Reason, in which women were so infamously conspicuous—that the very existence of marriage as an institution, had appeared to be in danger of practical extinction.

The object of the First Consul and of the Council of State, therefore, was, *not* to weaken the institution of marriage, but to raise it up, preserve, and strengthen it; not to multiply the causes upon which divorce might be allowed, but to limit them to a narrower scope. Nevertheless, the First Consul, who is known to have entertained not very elevated ideals of either the morals or the intelligence of women, warmly supported and defended the necessity of such a measure, despite the uncompromising position of the Church; and it was finally agreed:

I. That the husband might in every case sue out a divorce on account of the adultery of his wife.

II. That the wife might divorce her husband for adultery in those cases only where he brought his concubine into their common habitation.

III. Divorce was permitted for severe and grave injuries inflicted by the one spouse on the other; for the condemnation of either to an infamous punishment.

IV. The mutual consent of the spouses steadily adhered to; and expressed in a way prescribed by law, is also a sufficient cause of divorce.

The limitations in this last case were, that it could not take place until two nor after twenty married years of life had elapsed, or after the wife had attained the age of forty-five; that the parents or ascendants of the spouses should concur, and that the husband should be above twenty-five, and the wife above twenty-one years of age.

It is not to be supposed that the same wise and just men who framed with such care, deliberation, and wisdom, all the rest of the vast Civil Code of France, would not have bestowed the same anxious consideration upon so grave and important a subject as that relating to the dissolution of marriage.

What, then, were the reasons which caused them to recognize, as a part of the organic law of France, what is now termed a "double-standard of morality" for men and women in actions for divorce for adultery, rather than a "single standard" for both?

Bearing in mind that their purpose was, to protect the marriage-tie, as well as the integrity of the family itself, against hasty, inconsiderate attack by women, by eliminating a most prolific excuse for divorce, the motives for, and the grounds upon which they acted—in adhering to one standard of guilt for men, and to a different standard for women, in order to afford a just measure of relief to each for the wrong done by the adultery of the other—will be better understood.

The limitation upon the cause for which a woman



might seek release from an adulterous husband, was not designed by way of discrimination or of any injustice as to her; and the absolute right accorded to the husband to demand a divorce from an adulterous wife in every case, was simply the recognition of a superior claim to relief for a far greater wrong.

By the Council of State it was assumed, as self-evident, that the chagrin and the injury to the feelings a wife might experience, because of the adulterous intercourse of her husband with another woman, which, after all, reflected no shame upon her as a wife (however it might affect her vanity), nor upon her children, could not be compared for a moment to the foul and monstrous wrong done by an adulterous wife to her husband and children, by bringing shame upon him and upon them, by corrupting the blood of the children, by introducing among them the bastard offspring of a stranger, to bear the name, to be supported, educated, and, finally, to share the property of a lawful husband and father.

They also considered that it would be inflicting a cruel punishment, as well as a great wrong upon the children to say that *they* should be made the victims, and *suffer equally*, from the two wrongs, when the one was so much blacker than the other.

Furthermore, that they did not consider it either just or expedient, to permit so important a thing to the State as a French family, to be destroyed upon no greater cause of injury than the wounded vanity of a jealous woman; and, that, recognizing the length to which mere feminine spite and jealousy cause women to go, if unrestrained, they would refuse to thus endanger the stability of the greatest of all social institutions—Marriage—by placing in their hands, unrestrained power of divorce for the

adultery of the husband. That upon murder and misdemeanors the law would not inflict the same punishment, but only punish in the one case or the other, in proportion to the wrong and injury done, and that, equally, it must be so in the offense of adultery by the wife and the husband. Finally, that divorce was not to be regarded in the light, merely, as a punishment to either defendant, *but also, in the light of a remedy or relief, to be granted to the innocent party, according to the degree and extent of the wrong actually inflicted by the adulterous conduct of the other.*

However opinions may differ upon this discrimination in favor of the less heinous wrong of the husband, as compared with that of the wife, it cannot be denied that the Code Napoleon, so far from facilitating divorce, by that very means, greatly reduced it, by thus depriving women of the unrestricted use of a weapon which they have, elsewhere, as well as in France, shown an only too great readiness to resort to.

If the divorce was for adultery, the erring party could not marry the partner of his or her guilt, and thus a further powerful restraint was imposed upon guilty passions, and additional security had for the preservation of the family.

Upon the restoration of the Bourbons in 1816, divorce *a vinculo* was abolished in France, and it was not till 1884 that a new divorce law was re-enacted in that country; it has since been amended by the laws of 1886, 1893, and 1907, and the experiment of allowing divorce to the wife for the adultery of the husband in all cases is now being tried, with disastrous results. The law of 1893 enacted, as a measure of justice to the husband, that after divorce the wife should resume her maiden

name, and shall no longer use the name of her divorced husband. Publication in the press of all divorce proceedings is forbidden under heavy penalties.

In the Code Napoleon effort is also made to discourage the actual institution of suits for divorce, by requiring that the petitioner for divorce must *in person* (not by an attorney) present the petition to the president of the court sitting in chambers, with the object of a reconciliation being effected: the proceeding is termed the *première comparation*. If the petitioner still determines to proceed, then *both* the parties must appear in person before the president of the court, sitting as before, in what is called a *seconde comparation*, and should the president then fail to effect a reconciliation, he must make an order to allow the petitioner to proceed.

In practice it has been found that this wise measure has been attended by the happiest results, to say nothing of its deterrent effect where it is understood that neither party can escape the ordeal by the usual easy method of appearing by an attorney.

It is submitted that the laws of France, bearing upon the great domestic relations, are worthy of our most serious attention, in view of the increasing failure of our own laws in that behalf.

1st. Because of their experienced benefits and utility after a trial of more than a century, in lessening the divorce evil.

2nd. Because *the anomaly of parental authority over children still exists in France*, and is strongly supported by salutary laws. In America, on the contrary, it is the universal testimony that children scarcely either respect or obey parental authority any longer, while the law offers little real support to it.

3rd. Because in France it does not permit mere children, or even young men and women, under certain fixed ages, either to marry or be divorced, without the assent of parents, or ascendants.

In America, on the contrary, mere children can, and do, marry and divorce themselves, without, and even against, the authority of the parents. One case of a girl who had been married and divorced four times before she was eighteen years of age, has been noted as an illustration of the deplorable abuse to which such license is possible under our strange divorce laws, and also of the need for more stringent laws to govern children.

4th. Because for the whole of France there are only *seventy-nine* courts authorized to grant divorces.

## AUTHORITIES

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## DIVORCE IN THE UNITED STATES

The comprehensive report issued by the Bureau of the Census in 1910, gave compilations of the divorces granted in the United States for two 20-year periods, as follows:

From 1867 to 1886—Total divorces granted....328,716

From 1887 to 1906—Total divorces granted....945,625

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Showing a total increase of.....616,909

Of the divorces granted from 1887 to 1906....945,625

There were granted to Husbands.....316,149

There were granted to Wives.....629,476

that is, *two-thirds* of all divorces were granted to Wives.

### CAUSES OF DIVORCE

	Divorce to Wife	Per cent	Divorce to Husband	Per cent
Adultery . . . . .	62,869	10.0	90,890	28.7
Cruelty . . . . .	173,047	27.5	33,178	10.5
Desertion . . . . .	211,219	33.6	156,283	49.4
Drunkenness . . . .	33,080	5.3	3,436	1.1
Neglect to Provide..	34,664	5.5	Less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1%	
Com. of Preceding.	74,519	11.8	14,330	4.5
All other causes . .	40,078	6.4	18,026	5.7

Only 15.4 per cent of the divorces granted from 1887 to 1906 were contested, that is to say, 145,600, while no defense was made in almost exactly 800,000 cases.

The above census returns also show that in 1910 the ratio of divorce to marriages for the whole United States had risen to *one divorce for every twelve mar-*

*riages*, and in many of the most *progressive* States to as many as *one divorce for every 5.7 marriages!* Only one other civilized nation, so-called, namely, Japan, exceeds the ratio of the United States, and in that country it is *one-third*, but under the operation of causes to be noted, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that it will not require many years for us to overcome the Japanese lead.

As to the rest of the civilized, Christian nations, all are so far below our baneful record, that there is really no basis for anything approaching a comparison which would not leave us shamed in the presence of civilization. But, as some indication, it may be observed here that in the year 1906, the census returns showed 72,062 divorces, in the United States, something more than double the total number of divorces granted in all the other civilized nations of the world for that year, excluding Japan!

Between 1887 and 1913, reckoning the divorces for the seven years since 1906 only at an annual average of 72,000 granted in that year, =504,000, and adding these to the total of 945,625 divorces between 1887 and 1906 there results the terrible aggregate of nearly 1,500,000! At the usual ratio of divorces granted to women of 2 to 1 granted to men, nearly *one million women* have voluntarily destroyed their homes and family ties!

Reckoning but three children to a family, this means that several millions of innocent children have been involved in the wreck and ruin of those homes. In its justification, however, it is urged by the advocates of the "new conditions" in the social life that the great divorce movement in America is, in large measure, "an expression of woman's growing independence," being,

"simply a new way of meeting old abuses." It is declared, that, "It represents the mighty protest of *enlightened women* against the age-long *assumption of masculine superiority*, and is a determined revolt from their former position of subordination to man and their dependence upon him." And, finally, that "It is a denial of the philosophy that women exist primarily for their husbands and children, *rather than for their own self-realization*"—whatever this last expression may be supposed to imply.

In a recent publication by Professor Lichtenberger, of Columbia University, one of the leading exponents of the New Social Cult, and advocates of the "Single Standard of Morals"—two of the chief causes connected with the rapidly expanding divorce rate in America, are declared to be, "The Emancipation of Women," and as a necessary corollary, "The Spread of Discontent," among them.

And, summing up the inevitable results of this new Gospel of Female Emancipation and Discontent the same enlightened defender of the "New Standard of Ethics Which Knows No Distinction of Sex," thus proceeds to announce the doom of the social fabric and moral standards, which have been worked out through ages of effort and sacrifice by Man in the effort to elevate Woman from the state of an unchaste animal to that of virtuous wifehood.

It may be remarked that the above arguments do not differ materially from the claims insisted upon by the *enlightened* women advocates of the New Ethical Standards, but they are referred to as being more clearly and directly presented than some of the others.

He says: "It is to be anticipated that the emancipation

of one-half of the human race from bondage to the other half will be followed by fundamental changes in social relations.

"This is exactly what is taking place within domestic circles at the present time. In so far as the family is held together by coercive marital authority, it is destined to disintegrate.

"The economic patriarchal family has fulfilled its function, and, as such, will cease to exist."

And advocating increased facilities for the dissolution of marriage, thus disposes of the obstacle of children: "If there are children they go to live with one of the parents, or with some other relative. Only occasionally do they become the wards of the state."

" . . . Divorce is, therefore, the legal act by which the legal bond is dissolved, when every other reason for the continuance of the marriage relation has disappeared."

In this scheme, therefore, the fate of the innocent family itself has no particular place, so long as it "disappears." Nor is a single thought given to the need the children have of the love and care of *both* parents. Either one, evidently, will do, or if not, then "some other relative," who probably has a like burden of his own, or failing this, these "divorce orphans" become "the wards of the State."

Recent English Suffragette publications show that, in England, the element demanding "new ethical standards" has advanced somewhat further; monogamous marriage is pronounced "monotonous," and they boldly advocate for women entire freedom of choice in parentage of children, the offspring of such promiscuous "unions" to be termed "children of the State." The position is fur-



ther taken that "a new ethic of the sexes is needed"; that "the whole horizon is now bounded by masculine limitations and must be remade by women"; that woman's organism is more complex, and her totality of function larger than anything inhabiting the globe, giving her a position in the social state most exacting and most sovereign, while science abundantly proved that the male element is not merely vile, but is principally an excrescence, superfluity or waste product of nature," and finally that "sex war is proclaimed as a necessary and desirable stage to sex peace," apparently synonymous in these teachings with "free love." Marriage is termed "an immoral condition," in which the fate of the family is disregarded.

But the family is the first consideration, and marriage and divorce must, sooner or later, be made its incidents, instead of the family being regarded as a subject of secondary importance, to be treated apart from it, as is now the case. It has been said that, "The term marriage has been used to cover both the creative agreement or contract in marriage, and the subsequent relation growing out of that; that two views of the relation and its dissolution grow out of this. One makes the relation a mere contract from beginning to end, and, therefore, subject to all the remedies of ordinary contracts. The other that a *status* is created by the original contract, and that it is this "state of matrimony" or relation, with which divorce deals."

In this view, divorce most properly and justly becomes, so far as the State is concerned, *the legal dissolution of a family*, rather than mere individual relief from a contract to either of the two parties appearing. But, even

as a mere contract, marriage stands apart from all others.

The principle or life of our patriarchal monogamic family centres about the home which has become a social and religious ideal. Its vast influence in elevating women, in establishing chastity among them, in the proper care of children, in offering congenial employment for the house-wife, and in promoting religion, makes it, in truth, the very foundation of modern civilization.

With admitted defects (and no human institution is free from them) the patriarchal family, nevertheless, embodies all that makes for purity and decency in human society.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN MAN TOWARDS THE AMERICAN WOMAN

There has always been in the attitude of the American Man towards the American Woman, a manly, noble devotion, a desire to serve, to shield and protect her, accompanied by a feeling that, whatever might be his own sins, he, at least, would have in her something better and purer than himself to love and cherish. Nowhere else has woman ever been so honored and *trusted as by him*, nor more generously, more kindly used.

Recognizing her peculiar traits and weaknesses, he would not in the past, as he will not now, punish her in his courts for any crime she commits; on the contrary, after trials, which are really ludicrous farces, we see the murderess and adulteress triumphantly acquitted, amid the applauding shouts of the press and multitude, with alluring offers awaiting her, from competing theatrical managers, for a brilliant career "on the stage."

Yielding to her importunities, the American Man has permitted the American Woman to force an unwelcome entrance into his colleges and universities, intended only for his sons, for a *co-educational training* which should possess all those advantages, which, she complained and asserted, had been always denied by him to her—with little other apparent result than that, educated beyond her intelligence, or actual needs, it leaves her less willing than before to perform her great and peculiar function in domestic life of child-bearing, and more discontented than ever at her failure and inability to make use of her superior education. Of the many thousands of such bright “co-educated” young women, estimated to number upwards of 80,000, who have thus been highly trained in American colleges and universities, *not one* has yet proven that so great a sacrifice for her elevation, or, indeed, any change whatever, was worth while!

But as the assumed superior education of the New Woman, and a consequent “more highly clarified moral perception,” are the boldly asserted grounds to justify her insistent demands for the practical destruction of the institution of Marriage in its honorable binding old form, together with the equally honorable patriarchal type of family, the inspiration of all that is holiest, and purest in our standard of living, which, it is now coolly declared by fresh exponents of the “New Ethical Standards” so eagerly adopted by her, “has fulfilled its function, and as such will cease to exist”—some plain criticism of her own motives, and a brief statement of her past and present record of achievement, upon which must rest her self-assumed ability and fitness to determine so grave a matter for all others, cannot be regarded as un-

friendly to herself, or as uncalled for by her own pretensions.

Mistaking her own thin veneer of education—all she has ever been able to acquire—for the broad, solid attainments of the American Man, and unable to perceive that, left to herself, her own activities in any field are and have always been trivial, unsystematic and spasmodic, and unmindful of, or, perhaps, indifferent to, the fact that she neither knows nor is able to do anything of value as an aid to Man—save in a subordinate, unimportant capacity—in his great work of World-wide progress and development, as shown in the marvellous discoveries *he* is constantly making, while *she* literally contributes next to nothing, she, nevertheless, resents with petulant, hysterical anger the least reflection upon her *mental* power, dismissing, as quite unworthy of notice, the fact that she is, for example, almost barren of INVENTIVE GENIUS: the countless millions of women who ply the needle (to refer to a field in which she was not “prevented” by masculine oppression, from showing her talents!) not only have to thank Elias Howe for the invention of the *sewing machine*, but other men for every one of the improvements since made in those most useful articles of domestic life. And so with practically every useful invention that has ever been made. Woman only uses, but never invents one of them.

Her contributions to LITERATURE, are of such small value as to be almost worthless, in comparison with Man's; but in the ever-increasing floods of sentimental rubbish and novel-garbage she manages, somehow, to have published, she has—with some notable exceptions, who really confer honor upon their sex—succeeded in diluting to absolute flatness and vacuity the single branch

of literature which possesses the smallest interest for the average feminine reader, to-wit: Love, Romance, with suggestively "difficult" situations, as they are cunningly disguised, growing out of it, not to speak of others of undisguised licentiousness.

Her attainments in MUSIC, in PAINTING, in SCULPTURE, upon which generous Man has expended countless millions in efforts to develop her *latent talents and creative powers*, have been so trifling, that the world would feel but little poorer for the loss of all she has ever done, could it be wiped out.

And, to refer to things, which almost have a touch of humor: "*Mere Man*" makes the greatest of all cooks, and even in her own special domain of deepest thought—that of frocks and millinery—she is admittedly inferior to the masculine tailor and designer for women!

So much for her actual record to support her present revolt against the very conditions to which she is indebted for her high position and privileges.

Yet, nothing in this undeniably poor exhibit and record of her attainments reflects any discredit upon Woman-kind, but is simply the self-evident truth that in intellect she is even more inferior to Man than in physical power.

Burdened with the heavy task of child-bearing and rearing, for which she is physically and mentally adapted, and afflicted with the periodic recurrence of peculiar physical phenomena, which render her more or less hysterical, she has, doubtless, accomplished all that could fairly be expected of any human being laboring under such disadvantages. Therefore, she is, and should always be, the recipient of sympathy and protection—if necessary, in spite of herself.

But no Emancipation whatever of Woman does, or

**can**, Emancipate her from the peculiar weaknesses, physical, moral and mental, which have always distinguished her and against which Man has always shielded and protected her. The very function of child-bearing itself, with the necessary physical adaptations, and the peculiar nervous organization required, is absolutely incompatible with sustained mental effort, or attainments, much, if at all, beyond that to which the New Woman, even the semi-masculine type, has already attained.

Nothing can be more evident than that Nature never intended that she *should*, or *could*, rival Man in intellectual power. And her pitiful efforts to set at naught her own inherited limitations and weaknesses, only show, still more clearly, that it is neither a "single standard of guilt," nor "Emancipation" which is really required.

Yet this wonderful (?) New Woman, striving at one moment to delude herself into the belief that she really possesses the intelligence, courage, power and stability of Manhood, in the next demands the same good-humored indulgence and toleration for herself and her selfish whims, that are shown a spoiled, petted child—imputing to him as a crime her own natural disabilities, claiming, with selfish alacrity, every discrimination in her favor, even to the sacrifice of the lives of others, and all the rights of Man, but showing little disposition to assume the burdens that belong to them.

Having by the act of marrying and becoming the mother of a family contracted an obligation of supreme importance to her husband, her family and the State, the last-named should, for its own preservation, *protect the family entity* by refusing to permit husbands or wives

to destroy it, except upon most serious grounds of complaint and injury.

Without discussing the inconsiderate folly of her efforts to set aside or destroy the present social foundations, as unsuited to her own selfish needs and desires, as now developing, there is evident throughout her attacks a total want of sense on her part, of the least responsibility for any consequences which might result, should her efforts actually prove successful in fatally weakening Marriage as an institution: nor, is there evident—beyond vague declamations as to *her* expectations of “being happy,” when left free to follow her own unrestrained inclinations—any serious, intelligent thought, or even concern, as to the actual conditions, to which so vast a change in the great domestic relations must lead.

The figures of the recent federal census, showing that *two out of every three divorces* in the United States are granted to wives place the American Woman in a most sinister attitude towards the sacredness of Marriage and the ties of Home and Family. A very grave question is raised by her ever-increasing readiness to go into the divorce courts, with or without just cause, often to be freed from a union of which she has become *mercly tired*, or else to wed some new-found “affinity” or “soul mate,” with the added advantage of bringing along the *alimony* she rarely fails to receive.

In the divorce courts, she finds such complete measures already prepared to facilitate her desires, *that little more than a nod* is required to set the judicial divorce machinery in motion, while she knows that the husband will be obliged to pay all the court costs, her counsel fees, and

alimony to herself, for the breaking up of his home and family.

The right to alimony and counsel fees, withdrawn or much reduced, in all save cases of serious importance, would put an end to vast numbers of frivolous divorce suits by women simply grown indifferent, jealous, or hysterical, or even the idea of bringing them at all, and thus greatly assist in reconciling couples who *could* live together, if separation were not made so easy as really to invite it; and, at the same time, save as many innocent families of children from disruption and probable ruin.

The increasing discontent, the fads, the fancies of the New Woman, of the Emancipated Woman, of the Club Woman, of the Suffragette, *et id omne genus*, combine to make the American Woman rebel against any sort of control and restraint, to such a degree, that the American Man has, apparently, well-nigh lost authority and control over her actions.

#### THE SINGLE STANDARD OF GUILT FOR ADULTERY IN AMERICA

In an Evil Hour—*how evil!* we are only beginning to fully realize!—the monstrous principle of the “single standard of guilt,” in divorces for adultery, was introduced into our laws.

Though he had slain countless desecrators of his home, when an adulterous wife had dishonored it—though he so clearly and justly distinguished the difference between felonies and misdemeanors—between every other species of wrong—yet, this generous, great-hearted American Man, struck here by a sort of judicial blindness, moved,



perhaps by pity, by a chivalrous devotion to the American Woman, at once pathetic and primitive in its almost childish simplicity, *could not resist the strange appeal to declare, that, before his divorce courts her guilt, her wrong for an act of adultery were no greater than his own!*

In other words, it has been thus solemnly proclaimed by the Legislatures of the States of the Union, each thereby declaring its own standard of morals, *that, in America, the shame and wrong of adulterous intercourse by a married woman are no greater, in law, than the shame and wrong of the same act by a married man!*

That the same blind, indiscriminate measure of relief for such a wrong should be granted to *either* party, regardless of the atrocious injury inflicted upon the husband, and the innocent family—a most appropriate and logical conclusion, it must be admitted, however, to the adoption of the “New Standard of Ethics which Knows No Distinction of Sex,”—especially in the offence of Adultery!

Conceding, at once, all that could be said as to the great and crying need of a higher standard of chastity among men themselves, the argument that this can be sufficiently attained or enforced among them, by the insignificant fraction of chaste men, to justify any attempt to apply one standard of guilt for the offence of adultery in society, as in the courts, may be treated as sheer futility. Nothing can be more certain than that the surest way to help masculine sinners to attain such higher plane, is to *compel Woman*, as far as may be done, by both social and legal restraints, to remain upon the higher plane of virtue so indispensably needed in her; to permit her, under the false doctrine of, “the Woman’s

shame no greater than the man's," to descend half-way to meet him on his road to regeneration, is simply to *establish a common level of degradation for both!*

Although practicing a looser code of morals for himself, it must be remembered at the same time, *that the Man has never ceased to demand that the Woman whom he raised, along with himself, out of the slough of unspeakable moral debasement, to the honorable state of Marriage, should preserve the personal purity, which only his protection, his love, or selfish jealousy, if you will, ever enabled her to attain, and still preserves for her!* The physical pollution and degradation of Woman, by the act of illicit sexual intercourse, have a decisive influence upon the difference in the future moral as well as physical status of the two sexes. To pretend to ignore this, in a vain attempt to reduce the question to one of mere "moral guilt," is to violate the first instincts of decency and common-sense in our social relations.

The Man requires, not that she shall "be as good as he is," but that "she shall be better than he is," while her own foolish insistence is upon "a single standard of guilt," *for both, in the offence of Adultery!*

For, with all the clamour about other alleged wrongs to herself, *this* shows itself, in a thousand ways, to be at the bottom of most of her discontents, and the strongest motive for her hysterical demands for "Emancipation," and "New Ethical Standards."

It is a fatal error to attempt to ignore the disastrous effect of the deadly, insidious poison thus instilled, by the singular demands of the New Woman, and the strange laws on the subject in every State, into the ideas and conduct of women everywhere. It is well known that female criminals never plead guilty, and, as the result of

their alleged "trials," for *any* offence, always vindicates their denials of any wrong done, simply because they are *women*, it is not strange that such women should finally throw off even the sense of any moral wrong, and demand that decent society should accept the same view of their misconduct.

It has been stated in a leading law journal, as a fact, that the records of the courts of Cook County, Illinois, in which is included the City of Chicago, *showed but three pleas of "guilty," by women*, and it was added that, "*doubts were entertained of their sanity!*"

"Such is the way of an adulterous woman; she eateth and wipeth her mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness." (Proverbs, ch. xxx, 20.)

Taking her stand upon the declarations of "equal guilt" in the divorce codes of every State, the female social derelict is now insistently demanding, more loudly than ever, that decent society itself shall submit to being infested and shamed by the presence of her kind, even more than it already is, by accepting the same degrading doctrine, and receiving her upon the same terms it does the male sinner. This was precisely the condition to which social life had sunk in France, when the First Consul began the work of reinstating respect for virtue, for marriage, nay more, for Womankind itself.

France had experienced, with a vengeance, the hideous results of a "single-standard" of morality for men and women, and had enough of it, when they saw the actual fact was to simply enable women to climb down from their pedestal of chastity to the level of masculine immorality, as they made haste to do, when both society and the courts of law accepted that standard; and showed, as in America to-day, a far greater readiness, than men

themselves, to rush into the divorce courts, causing Marriage to be so degraded and lightly regarded, that it was termed, in derision, the "Sacrament of Adultery"!

These and other causes have combined to multiply the evils of divorce until the country stands aghast before the appalling total of ruined and blighted American homes. Some of the clergy are making an effort to check divorce by refusing to perform the marriage-rites for divorced persons, and thus affixing the stigma of church and social ostracism upon such unions, but to little effect, since other clergy are easily found who will perform such rites.

A National Divorce Law is now being widely urged. Recognizing the practical impossibility of securing the adoption of uniform divorce laws by the forty-eight States, it is proposed to take measures to obtain the necessary authorization from the States for the Congress of the United States to enact a general federal statute, which shall fix the grounds upon which marriage may be dissolved, and take the place of the conflicting, demoralizing mass of State laws upon the subject, which have, indeed, been responsible for much of the evil, by affording to every one, at all times, the means of evading the restrictions of one State, by the simple process of seeking relief in some other State, with looser divorce laws, and afterwards returning to live and marry in the former State, which is obliged to recognize the legality of the proceedings of "another sovereign State."

Alone among the nations of the Earth, where all the others recognize but one uniform code of divorce in their organic law, the United States have attempted to regulate the dissolution of the most important of human relations, by FORTY-EIGHT discordant, independent codes

of divorce—still worse confounded by the conflicting decisions of a greater number of divorce courts, in those 48 States, than exist in all the other nations combined!

For the entire Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, there is but *one court* possessing jurisdiction to grant divorces, and it is not over-burdened with its task.

France possesses *seventy-nine* such courts.

In the United States there are now more than *Three Thousand courts authorized to grant divorces, or, one for every one of the 3,000 counties in the country!*

The State of New Jersey alone has taken the praiseworthy step of limiting to one high court, composed of chancellors, the power of granting divorces and with splendid results in decreasing them, despite the fact that an easily abused law of desertion still exists there.

A similar measure in other States, limiting the number of courts with such jurisdiction to one, or several, if absolutely required by area and population, and composed as in New Jersey, could not fail to have the most salutary results everywhere, not merely in the lessening of the evil, but in exposing and eliminating, under such careful and intelligent sifting of the evidence, almost all the suits upon false pretenses.

And if we would imitate the eminently wise, and practical requirement of the Code Napoleon (to which reference has been made) of obliging the applicants for divorce to present their petitions *in person*, instead of by attorney, and hear the efforts at conciliation by a disinterested judge of high position, rather than the interested advice of a divorce-attorney, it cannot be doubted that great good would follow.

Causes of divorce in the various States range from "no divorce for any cause," in South Carolina, to as

many as **FOURTEEN** in the State of New Hampshire, with the sinister result that about 75 per cent. of the divorces in that highly educated, enlightened commonwealth *are granted to women.*

The disastrous operation upon the minds and consciences of women themselves, of that strange legal fiction in American State courts of "equal guilt," in the offence of Adultery, has now grown to such proportions, that it even threatens the ultimate displacement of American Womanhood from the ancient pedestal of honorable Marriage to the degradation of so-called *marriage relations, so disgracefully loose and easy to throw off, as to be not much above a species of legalized concubinage!*

And the insensate folly of the New Woman in attacking and seeking to destroy binding honorable Marriage, as she is doing, insuring her own shame and degradation, by being thus lightly passed from hand to hand, *for temporary use*, can be likened only to the madness of Armida setting fire to her own palace!



## THE LEGION OF HONOUR

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This noblest of all monuments of distinction to personal merit, which has proved so lasting in its inspiration to every elevated sentiment of the human mind, was erected by the First Consul upon the ruins of hereditary rank and privilege in France, even while the shocks of Revolutionary convulsions were still felt and dreaded.

The proposal for its institution instantly aroused a strong opposition. It was charged by its enemies that there was a double motive in the purpose of its creation—one declared, and the other hidden, beneath a specious guise, to mask ambitious designs to overturn the Republic, and, by the aid of such an order, re-establish the throne with Bonaparte as its occupant.

It required all the power, all the boldness and skill of the new government to venture, at such a time, upon a measure which appeared to so many ardent and determined Republicans as the first step towards a counter-revolution.

But the First Consul already possessed a profound knowledge of the French character, and his first care was to awaken, in its most stirring form, in the all-too-susceptible hearts of Frenchmen, that sentiment of glory, by which he led the men of that day, by conferring some outward, visible mark of honour for heroic actions in battle. As a preliminary test, to pave the way for the more serious measure of the Legion of Honour, the



decree of December 25, 1799 was issued, awarding the distinction of

ARMES D'HONNEUR

a measure that had been devised, but not put in execution, by the National Convention awarding for distinguished courage in battle muskets for infantry, carbines for cavalry, grenades for artillery, and swords for officers, and, in some cases, double pay and allowances.

Even in the army, Republican austerity—as indicated in the pre-designation of “Citizen” to every military title, from “citizen-generals” down to “citizen-corporals”—would render it necessary to know well what one was about. Hence, no effort or artifice was spared to arouse the enthusiasm and emulation of all, of the common soldiers, above all.

The first Sabre of Honour was decreed to Citizen-General Gouvion St. Cyr, for the brilliant battle he had lately fought at Bores near Novi in the Apennines, where, with an inferior force, he defeated the Austrians, drove them across the Acqui, and took 1,500 prisoners with several cannon and standards.

“Receive,” said the First Consul to him, “in testimony of my satisfaction, a handsome sabre, which you will always wear on days of battle. Let the soldiers know, who are under your orders, that I am well pleased with them, and that I hope to be so, yet more, in the future.”

Bourrienne, who was then private secretary to the First Consul, relates that, “A grenadier sergeant, named Leon Aune, who had been included in the first distribution, easily obtained permission to write to the First Consul to thank him. Bonaparte, wishing to answer him in his own name, dictated to me the following letter for Aune—

"I have received your letter, my brave comrade. You needed not to have told me of your exploits, for you are the bravest grenadier in the whole army since the death of Benezete. You received one of the hundred sabres I distributed to the army, and all agreed you most deserved it. I wish very much again to see you. The War Minister sends you an order to come to Paris.' This wheeling wonderfully favoured Bonaparte's designs. His letter to Aune could not fail to be circulated throughout the army. A sergeant called *my brave comrade* by the First Consul—the First General of France! Who but a thorough Republican, the staunch friend of equality, would have done this? This was enough to wind up the enthusiasm of the army!"

On the 4th of May, 1801, he brought forward, for the first time officially, in the Council of State the question of the establishment of

#### THE LEGION OF HONOUR

which on the 19th of May, 1802, was proclaimed a law of the State. The debates in the Council of State were in the highest degree curious and instructive.

"The 87th article of the Constitution," said Napoleon, "sanctions the establishment of military honours, but it has organized nothing. An *arrêt* has established Arms of Honour, with double pay as a consequence; others with a mere increase; there is nothing formal or regular constructed.

"As to the manner of classing men in society," said he to those who objected to any distinction, "why then have you created fusils and sabres of honour? Is not that a distinction? And ridiculously enough invented, for men do not carry a fusil or a sabre of honour at

their breast, and, for things of this sort, men like what is seen at a distance. The project I propose to you gives consistence to the system of recompenses; it is the beginning of organization to the nation."

It was proposed by General Dumas that the institution should be exclusively confined to military men, and that civilians should not be eligible, but this was strongly opposed by the First Consul, in the following profound and convincing argument.

"Such ideas," said he, "might be well adapted to the feudal ages, when the chevaliers combatted each other man to man, and the bulk of the nation was in a state of slavery; but when the military system changed, masses of infantry, and phalanxes constructed after the Macedonian model, were introduced, and after that it was not individual prowess, but science and skill, which determined the fate of nations. The kings themselves contributed to the overthrow of the feudal *régime* by the encouragement which they gave to the commons; finally, the discovery of gunpowder, and the total change it induced in the art of war, completed its destruction. From that period, the military spirit, instead of being confined to a few thousand Franks, extended to all the Gauls. It was strengthened, rather than weakened, by the change; it ceased to be exclusive in its operation, and, from being founded solely on military prowess, it came to be established also on civil qualities.

"What is it now which constitutes a great general? It is not the mere strength of a man six feet high, but the *coup d'œil*, the habit of foresight, the power of thought and calculation; in a word, civil qualities, not such as you find in a lawyer, but such as are founded on a knowledge of human nature, and are suited to the

government of armies. The general who can now achieve great things is he who is possessed of shining civil qualities; it is their perception of the strength of his talents which makes the soldiers obey him. Listen to them at their bivouacs; you will invariably find them award the preference to mental over physical qualities.

"Murad Bey was the most powerful man among his Mamelukes; without that advantage he never could have been their leader. When he first saw me, he could not conceive how I could preserve authority among my troops; but he soon understood it when he was made acquainted with our system of war.

"In all civilized States, force yields to civil qualities. Bayonets sink before the priest who speaks in the name of Heaven, or the man of science who has gained an ascendancy by his knowledge. It is right that civil virtues should have their share of reward as well as the military virtues. Those who oppose this course reason like barbarians. It is the religion of brute force that they recommend to us. But intelligence has its rights before those of force; force itself is nothing without intelligence.

"As for myself, do you suppose that it is solely because I am reputed a great general that I rule France? No; it is because the qualities of a statesman and a magistrate are attributed to me; without that I could not stand an hour. I knew well what I was about, when, though only a general, I took the title of member of the Institute; I felt confident of being understood by the lowest drummer in the army. We must not reason from ages of barbarity to these times. France consists of 30,000,000 of men, united by intelligence, property and commerce. Three or four hundred thousand soldiers are nothing

in such a mass. Not only does the general preserve his ascendancy over his soldiers chiefly by civil qualities, but when his command ceases he becomes merely a private individual. The soldiers themselves are but the children of citizens. The tendency of military men is to carry everything by force; the enlightened civilian, on the other hand, elevates his views to a perception of the general good. The first would rule only by despotic authority, the last subject everything to the test of discussion, truth, and reason. I have no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that if a preference was to be awarded to the one or the other, it belongs to the civilian.

“If you divide society into soldiers and citizens, you establish two orders in what should be one nation. If you confine honours to military men, you do what is still worse, for you sink the people into nothing. France is too noble, too intelligent a country to submit to material power, and to inaugurate within her limits that worship of force. Let us honour intelligence, virtue, the civil qualities; in short, let us bestow upon them in all professions the like reward.”

These reasons, issuing from the lips of the greatest captain of modern times, at once persuaded and charmed the whole Council of State, which agreed that the proposed honours should be extended indiscriminately to civil and military distinction. On his part, the First Consul was desirous that it should be thoroughly understood, especially by the military, that it was not as general alone, but as the man of genius, that he was the ruler of France.

Although the Council of State had thus so fully agreed with him, it was only upon the principle that such dis-

tinctions ought to be open to all merit upon those broad lines.

The most difficult part of the discussion remained, which was upon the question of the expedience of the institution of the Legion of Honour itself, even in its most extended form. Under the constitution then in force, before such a bill (*projet de loi*) could be introduced in the Tribune and the Legislative Body, it must have been approved by a majority of the Council of State.

Great opposition was already manifested to it in the capital, from its alleged evident tendency to counteract the levelling principles of the Revolution; and it was so strongly opposed in the Council of State itself, that it only received 14 out of 24 votes in its favour, after prolonged debates, ably sustained on both sides. No more interesting records can be found in the annals of those times than those which relate to these discussions.

#### GROUND OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE LEGION OF HONOUR

It was urged in the Council of State by Thibaudeau and the opponents of the measure:

“That it was diametrically opposed to all the principles of the Revolution. The abolition of titles was the act of the Constituent Assembly which made the change at one of the most enlightened periods of the Revolution. The nation is profoundly influenced by the feeling of honour; but that principle, strong as it is, yields to the universal passion for equality. It was these two powerful motives, combined with the love of freedom and the feelings of patriotism, which gave its early and aston-

ishing victories to the Republic. I do not see that the Legion of Honour could have made the public spirit greater.

“Considered as a guarantee of the Revolution, the institution appears to me to run counter to its object, and as laying the foundation of an intermediate body between the throne and the people, to involve a principle inconsistent with the representative system, which can recognize no distinction but that which flows from the choice of the citizens. I fear that the desire of possessing these ribands may weaken the feelings of duty and honour, instead of strengthening them. . . .

“In the theory which is presented for our consideration on this subject, representative governments are confounded with monarchical. It is quite true that distinctions of rank are indispensable in a monarchy, in order to counter-balance, by intermediate bodies, the weight of the throne; but in a Republic they are a never-failing source of irritation, because they destroy that equality among the citizens which is the foundation of all such institutions.

“In a monarchy the safeguard of the people is to be found in a multitude of obstacles which restrains the inclinations of the ruler; in representative states, sovereign power is divided, the people are subjected to magistrates of their own selection, and know of none but those whom the Constitution recognizes. By placing in the State the proposed institution, you voluntarily admit a patriciat, of which the immediate and inevitable tendency will be to run into a military and hereditary nobility.

“The Legion of Honour involves within itself all the elements which have elsewhere led to a hereditary nobil-

ity, individual distinction, power, honours, titles and fixed revenues. Hardly anywhere has a hereditary noblesse commenced its career with such advantages. It is in vain to pretend that the progress of intelligence and the lights of the age are a sufficient guarantee against any such abuse. The human heart is ever the same; a renewal of the same circumstances will reproduce the same errors and the same desires. From the institution of the Legion will spring up afresh all the ancient prejudices, and these prejudices will fortify the military spirit and the respect for nobility, and thus introduce a separate in the midst of the general interest. Under pretence of effacing the last traces of nobility, it will establish a new one, and strongly confirm the old.

“Considered as an intermediate body, the Legion is, to say the least of it, a perfect superfluity. Such intermediate bodies are of some use in despotic countries; but in a representative state, and among a nation fortunate enough to possess a free discussion on public affairs, the sole intermediate body which is required, or should be tolerated, is the representatives of the people. The institution proposed is alike contrary to the principles of the Revolution and the text of the Constitution. The proposed order leads directly to a monarchy. Crosses and ribands are the pillars of a hereditary throne; they were unknown to the Romans who conquered the world.”

#### SPEECH OF THE FIRST CONSUL IN REPLY

The First Consul in answer to these ably stated objections, said: “We are always referred by the opposition to the Romans. It is singular that, as an argument against distinctions, reference should so frequently be



made to the nation that ever existed in which they were most firmly established. The Romans had patricians, the equestrian order, citizens and knights; for each class they had a separate costume, different habits. To reward achievements, they awarded all sorts of distinctions, surnames recalling great services, mural crowns, triumphs. Superstition was called in to lend her aid to the general impression. Take away the religion of Rome, and nothing remains. When that fine body of patricians was destroyed, Rome was torn in pieces; there successively arose the fury of Marius, the proscriptions of Sylla, the tyranny of the emperors.

"Brutus is continually referred to as the enemy of tyrants, and yet *Brutus was the greatest of all aristocrats*. He slew Cæsar only because Cæsar wished to degrade the influence of the Senate and exalt that of the people. This is the use which the spirit of party makes of history."\*

"I defy you," he continued, "to show me a republic, ancient or modern, where distinctions have not prevailed. They call them baubles—well, it is with baubles that you govern mankind! I would not say that at the Tribune, but in a council of state nothing should be concealed. Look at these vanities which genius so much affects to disdain. The populace is not of that opinion. Observe how forcibly the people have been struck by, and how eagerly they have followed the foreigners now among us, to admire their rich uniforms and their brilliant decorations, as they have arrived and departed in the court yard of the Tuileries; that revealed their secret predilections. The multitude loves these many-coloured

\*NORZ.—These observations of Napoleon are regarded as very remarkable, as showing how much more clearly his natural sagacity, even amid all the tumult of camps, had apprehended the truth, than the numerous declaimers, who, through the whole of the Revolution, had descanted on its examples.

ribands as it loves religious pomp. The Democrat philosopher calls it vanity. Vanity let it be; but that vanity is a weakness, common to the whole human race, and great virtues may be made to spring from it. With these so much despised baubles heroes are made. There must be worship for the religious sentiment; there must be visible distinctions for the noble sentiment of glory.

"Nations should not strive to be singular any more than individuals. The affectation of acting differently from the rest of the world is an affectation which is reproved by all persons of sense and modesty. Ribands are in use in all countries. Let them be in use in France. It will be one more friendly relation established with Europe. Our neighbours give them only to the man of noble birth. I will give them to the man of merit—to the one who shall have served best in the army or in the State, or who shall have produced the finest works.

"What is there aristocratic," the First Consul exclaimed, "in a distinction purely personal, bestowed on the man who has displayed merit, whether civil or military—bestowed on him alone, bestowed for his life only, and not passing to his children? Such a distinction is the reverse of aristocratic. It is the essence of aristocracy that its titles are transmitted from the man who has earned them, to the son who has done nothing to acquire them.

"The French have not been so greatly changed by ten years of revolution; they are still as gallant and volatile as their Gaulish ancestors. They have but one prevailing sentiment, and that is honour; everything should be done, therefore, to nourish and encourage that principle.

"Voltaire called soldiers Alexanders at five sous a day. He was right: they really are so. Do you believe that you would ever make a man fight by abstract principles? Never: such views are fit only for the scholar in his study. For the soldier, as for all men in active life, you must have glory and distinction; recompenses are the food which nourish such qualities. The armies of the Republic have done such great things, because they were composed of the sons of labourers and substantial farmers, and not the mere rabble; because the officers stepped into the situations of those of the old *régime*, and were animated by the same sentiments of honour. It is the same principle which led to all the triumphs of Louis XIV.

"You may call, if you please, the Legion of Honour an order but one always open to merit; it matters not; names will not alter the nature of things. For ten years you have been constantly speaking of institutions, and what, after all, have you done? Nothing. The moment had not yet arrived. The Republicans proposed to attach the people to the country by assembling them in churches, where, dying of cold, they were made to listen to the reading and exposition of the laws; it may easily be imagined what effect such an institution had in attaching them to their government.

"I am well aware that, if you judge of this institution according to the prejudices produced by ten years of a revolution, it must appear worse than useless; but if you consider that we are placed *after* a revolution, and called upon to reconstruct society, a very different opinion will be formed. Everything has been destroyed: we must commence the work of creation. We have indeed a nation and a government, but they are united by a

rope of sand. There exist at the same time among us several of the old privileged classes, organized from the unity of their principles and interests, and who will always pursue one definite object.

“But, it may be said, after this will come something else. That is possible, but let us first see what is given to us; we will judge of the remainder afterwards. It is asked what this Legion of six thousand individuals signifies, and what are to be its duties? It is asked, if it has other duties than those imposed on the whole mass of the citizens, who are all equally bound to defend territory, constitution, equality? In the first place, to this question one may reply, that all citizens must defend their common country, and that, nevertheless, there is an army on which that duty is more particularly imposed. Would it then be astonishing if in the army there should be a *corps d'élite*, from which would be expected more devotion to its duties, and more disposition to the grand sacrifice of life?

“But, do you want to know what this Legion is to be? It is an attempt at organization for the men, the originators or partisans of the Revolution; who are neither royalists, nor Vendéans, nor priests. But we are scattered, without union, system, or lasting bond of connection. It is needful that the men who have taken part in the Revolution, should be united, bonded together, should form to a solid combination, and cease to depend on the first accident which might strike a single head. We must now found an edifice, wherein to establish ourselves, and to dwell.

“These six thousand legionaries, composed of all the men who have effected the Revolution, who have defended it after having made it, who wish to continue it

in all that it has reasonable and just: these 6,000 legionaries, officers and soldiers, civil functionaries, magistrates, endowed with the national possessions, that is to say, with the patrimony of the Revolution, are one of the strongest guarantees that you can give to the new order of things. And then, depend upon it, the struggle is not over with Europe; be assured that that struggle will begin again.

"Is it not a happy thing to have in our hands so easy a means of keeping up, of exciting, the bravery of our soldiers? In place of that chimerical 1,000,000,000 francs which you would not even dare to promise again, you may, with only 3,000,000 francs of revenue in national domains, raise up as many heroes to uphold the Revolution as were found for undertaking it."

Notwithstanding the profound and unanswerable arguments by which the First Consul had supported it, it was by a very slender majority that the institution of the Legion of Honour passed the great bodies of the State.

The numbers were:

In the Council of State...	14 ayes.	10 noes.
In the Tribunate .....	56 ayes.	38 noes.
In the Legislative Body.	166 ayes.	110 noes.
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	236	158
Majority .....	78	

On the 19th of May, 1802, the measure for the institution of the Legion of Honour was formally proclaimed a law of the State.

So strongly implanted were the principles of the Revolution even in the highest functionaries of the realm, and so difficult was it to extinguish that hatred at distinc-

tions or honours, which formed so leading a feature in the passions by which it was at first distinguished, no measure during the Consulate experienced nearly so powerful an opposition.

Napoleon was much struck with this circumstance, and surprised at so feeble a majority, he said in the evening, to Bourrienne: "Ah! I see very clearly the prejudices are still too strong. You were right; I should have waited. It was not a thing of such urgency. The strong minority has not judged me fairly."

The Legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts, each cohort of seven grand officers, twenty commanders, thirty officers, and three hundred and fifty private legionaries, in all 6,000 individuals of every rank. The oath first administered to those who received the cross of the Legion of Honour was as follows: "I swear, on my honour, to devote myself to the service of the Republic, to the preservation of the integrity of its territory, to the defence of its government, its laws, and the property by them consecrated; to oppose, by every means which justice, reason, and the laws authorize, all acts tending to re-establish the feudal system, or to revive the titles and distinctions belonging to it; finally, to contribute, to the utmost of my power, to the maintenance of liberty and equality." Afterwards the oath was somewhat changed to meet the new order of things under the Empire.

Decorations and endowments were attached to each rank. To the grand officers was allotted a salary of 5,000 francs, to commanders, 2,000 francs, to officers, 1,000 francs, to private legionaries, 250 francs. An endowment in national domains was to provide for these expenses. Each cohort was to have its station in the district where its particular possessions were situated.

All the combined cohorts were to be administered by a superior council formed of seven members; the three Consuls first, then four grand officers: the first of the latter was to be named by the Senate, the second by the Legislative Body, the third by the Tribunate, the fourth by the Council of State. The Council of the Legion of Honour, composed in this manner, was charged with the duty of managing the possessions of the Legion, and of deliberating on the nominations of its members.

Setting out from the existing state of things, it was decided that officers and soldiers who had Arms of Honour, should be, by right, members of the Legion, and classed in its ranks according to their grade in the army.

Despite his chagrin over its narrow escape from disaster, the measure was carried into execution, with all those circumstances of ceremony and display which the First Consul knew are so powerful with the multitude. The inauguration of the dignitaries of the order took place, with extraordinary magnificence, in the Church of the Hotel des Invalides, in presence of all the Consuls, and of all the great officers of the Republic; and the decorations of the Legion of Honour, opened to the humblest person in the land, who might, by genius, self-denial and toil, deserve it, soon began to be eagerly coveted by a people whose passion for individual distinction had been the secret cause of the Revolution.

The event proved that Napoleon had rightly appreciated the true character of the Revolutionary spirit, which wished the abolition of hereditary, not personal distinction.

"Vanity," as he afterwards observed, "is the ruling principle of the French, and was at the bottom of all the convulsions of the Revolution; it was the sight of

the noblesse enjoying privileges and distinctions to which they could not aspire, which filled the Tiers-Etat with inextinguishable and natural animosity."

The Bourbons, in reviving the abolished orders of the monarchy, were wise enough to preserve along with them the Legion of Honour. Under successive dynasties and changes of government the order experienced many alterations, until in 1872 the present constitution was formed; the order being now reorganized into five classes—chevaliers, officers, commanders, grand officers, and grand crosses. Salaries are likewise attached to the various classes of decorations, ranging now from 250 francs for a chevalier to 3,000 francs for a grand cross.

In 1892 the order numbered 43,851 members; the law of 1897 has fixed the maximum number of additional crosses at 14,320. Many women have received this honour, and it is freely conferred on foreigners.

A five-rayed star of white enamel edged with gold, bearing the image of the Republic with the inscription *Republique Francaise* on its obverse, two flags and the motto "Honneur et Patrie" on the reverse, is the emblem of the order. A wreath of oak and laurel surmounts it, and it is suspended from a red riband. A portrait of the Emperor Napoleon, surmounted by an imperial crown, was originally used in place of the emblem of the Republic.

With an eloquence inspired by so noble a theme the eminent historian, Thiers, pronounced the following deserved and lofty eulogium upon the Legion of Honour:

"This institution numbers not much more than forty years, and it is already consecrated as if it had passed through centuries, to such a degree has it become in those forty years, the recompense of heroism, of knowledge, of



merit of every sort! so much has it been sought after by the grandees and princes of Europe, the most proud of their origin. Time, the judge of institutions, has then pronounced its decision on the utility and dignity of this particular one.

“Let us set aside the abuse which may have been made sometimes of such a recompense, through the different governments that have succeeded each other, an abuse inherent in every recompense given to man by his fellow-man, and let us recognize what was beautiful, profound, novel to the world, in an institution whose intent was to place on the breast of the private soldier and of the modest *savant*, the same decoration that was to figure on the breasts of leaders of armies, of princes, and of kings! Let us recognize that this creation of an honour-conferring distinction was the most dazzling triumph of equality itself—not of that equality which puts men on a level by debasing them, but which equalizes while it elevates them!”

Such was the manner in which, in a country which had just decreed all distinctions forever abolished, an order—inspired by one great mind gifted with profound understanding of the human heart—was created, which was to engender prodigies of achievement, in an era of national glory, such as no other nation has ever equalled.

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## SURPRISE AND CAPTURE OF THE GREAT BRIDGE AT VIENNA IN 1805

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In the French Revolutionary-Napoleonic Period, extending from 1789 to 1815, heroic actions of individuals, as well as of masses of men, are so innumerable as to seem almost commonplace; but where, in addition to mere heroism, the consequences resulting from them were possessed of some great public interest, there are many which deserve to be recalled anew, with all the circumstances which may have since come to light, for the emulation and admiration of the brave and patriotic in every age and country.

Among such exploits, perhaps, none surpasses the daring surprise and capture of the great Bridge of Thabor at Vienna by the French in the campaign of 1805. Some reference to the earlier stages of this campaign is necessary to a better understanding of the event about to be described. The projected invasion of England had occupied Napoleon's attention for two years, and he had accumulated and thoroughly trained an immense army in its encampments along the shores of the English Channel for that great enterprise.

In the summer of 1805, the army being in complete readiness to embark on its transports, he ordered Admiral Villeneuve's great fleet of battle-ships to the English Channel to cover the embarkation and landing of his

army in England. On the way thither Villeneuve encountered a British fleet, inferior in numbers, under the gallant Admiral Sir Robert Calder, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, and after an indecisive engagement, instead of going on to Brest, at which port another fleet as great as his own awaited his coming to report together at Boulougne, where the emperor and the army anxiously looked for his coming—he suddenly turned about and sailed for the distant harbor of Ferrol, Spain.

The moment Napoleon learned of this disgraceful retreat of Villeneuve to Ferrol, he renounced, in his own mind, the invasion of England, and began to prepare to encounter the Austrians and Russians who were even then preparing to invade France from the East.

In order to impose upon the allies as long as possible as to his real intentions, Napoleon continued to exercise his troops daily in the difficult operations of embarking and disembarking from their transports and gunboats, and the following, from the Memoirs of Marshal Ney, (vol. 2, 260, 261), will show the extraordinary dexterity to which the troops had arrived in those exercises, the guns, caissons, etc., being already on board: "At a signal given, infantry, cavalry, artillery, were at once put under arms, and ranged opposite to the vessels on board which they were respectively to embark. A cannon was discharged, and all the field-officers dismounted and placed themselves at the head of their respective corps; a second gun was the signal to make ready to embark; a third, and the word of command, 'Colonels, forward!' was heard along the whole line; a fourth, which was instantly followed by the word, 'March.' The soldiers in perfect order hastened on board, each to his appointed place; in *ten minutes and a half* twenty-five

thousand men embarked. The enthusiasm of the troops knew no bounds: they thought the long wished-for moment had arrived; but at the next signal the order to disembark was given, and they were made aware that the whole was only a feint to try the rapidity with which the movement could be performed. The relanding was completed nearly as rapidly as the embarkation; in *thirteen minutes* from the time the soldiers were on board they were drawn up in battle array on shore." Such was the discipline of the Grand Army!

Austria, ignorant of this vital change in Napoleon's purposes, and deceived by the accounts, which were daily transmitted by its secret agents, of the immense accumulations of French troops on the shores of the English Channel, and their constant daily practice in going on board and landing from their ships, deemed the moment come when she could commence hostilities without waiting for the Russians to arrive in Germany from Poland, whence they were already on the march.

The British government, which better understood the importance of Villeneuve's retreat with his great fleet to Ferrol, sent to the cabinet of Vienna a detailed statement of the numbers and equipment of the French army assembled for the invasion of England, obtained from the imperial staff by a prodigal use of gold, showing it to be about 150,000 strong, splendidly equipped, and ready to march, and asked whether it was against England or Austria that this great force was really intended to act, but it was to no purpose.

With infatuated self-confidence the Austrian host, 80,000 strong under General Mack, continued to advance through Bavaria and Wurtemberg in the early days of September, fondly hoping to appear upon the Rhine

for the invasion of France at the very time when Napoleon would have crossed the Strait of Dover, and be fully engaged in England.

But, in so doing, she grievously miscalculated the resources and ability of the French emperor, whose army, suddenly breaking up from its cantonments on the shores of the ocean early in September, appeared upon the Rhine and entered Germany, almost before the astonished Austrians knew they had begun their march.

The surrender of General Mack at Ulm, on the 21st of October and the loss of all his fine army, but a few thousand fugitives, was the penalty Austria paid for her haste and rashness in opening the campaign without the presence of her Russian allies, whose first army of 56,000 men under Field-Marshal Kutusoff was hurrying towards Bavaria by forced marches. Having so easily disposed of the Austrians, Napoleon rapidly advanced to meet Kutusoff, who, hearing of the sudden surrender of Mack, instantly retreated down the valley of the Danube to unite with such Austrian re-inforcements as could be assembled, and to protect Vienna. Meanwhile Napoleon came up with the retreating Russians, whose rear-guard was beaten in several bloody combats, but could not hold them long enough to bring their main army to battle, which rapidly continuing its retreat along the Danube, arrived at the important rocky ridge of St. Polten, the last defensible position in front of Vienna.

Field-Marshal Kutusoff seeing he would be unable, with the force at his command, to defend even that strong position, determined to abandon Vienna to its fate, and, to save his army from a pursuit which was daily becoming more disastrous to him, to put the Danube between himself and the French, by crossing over to the Northern

bank upon the bridge of Mautern, the last bridge over that great river between Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and Vienna. Having rapidly accomplished this passage with his army the same day and night, he burned its eight-and-twenty arches of wood behind him, and marched towards Moravia to effect a junction with the second Russian army of 60,000 men which was advancing to Brunn in that province, under the Emperor Alexander in person.

Napoleon halted a day at St. Polten and abandoning all thought of further pursuit of Kutusoff's army, which was now beyond reach, turned all his attention to the capture of Vienna, and the great bridge there over the Danube, the possession of which, besides its other immense advantages would render totally impossible the junction of the Russian armies 116,000 strong, assembling in Moravia, with the army of 90,000 men under the Archduke Charles which was hurrying by forced marches from Italy, to arrive in Vienna before the French should capture it.

A further advantage to Napoleon would be that it would enable him to march against either of the allied armies at pleasure, without the other being able to render any assistance.

Orders were, accordingly, given to Marshals Lannes and Murat to advance with the utmost rapidity upon Vienna, and use every means in their power to gain possession of the great Bridge of Thabor at that city, whether an armistice was agreed on or not.

With the view of gaining time for the allied forces to concentrate in Moravia, whither they were hastening from all quarters, as well as to stay, if possible, the rapid march of the French army upon Vienna, even for



three days, the Emperor Francis Joseph, had sent an envoy to Napoleon's headquarters to propose an armistice. The latter was too clear-sighted not to divine its real object, and while entering upon active negotiations with the Austrian headquarters, would not agree to suspend his march an hour, until the unconditional acceptance of the conditions he had named, and so continued both his march and the negotiations.

It soon became known to both armies that negotiations for an armistice were going on, and that one might be concluded at any time. Napoleon's orders to Murat show his great anxiety to gain possession of the bridges at Vienna, which, in fact, were of far greater importance to him, in the crisis at hand, than even the city itself with all its immense arsenals and resources.

"As soon as ten o'clock on the 12th has arrived, you may enter Vienna. Endeavor to surprise the bridge of the Danube, and if it is broken down, make it your study to find the readiest means of passing the river; that is the great affair. Should M. Guilay (the Austrian peace envoy) before ten o'clock, present himself with proposals for a negotiation, you may suspend your march on Vienna; but, notwithstanding, use all your efforts to secure the passage of the river." (Orders to Murat, November 12, 1805. Dumas, Vol. XIV., p. 20.)

The efforts by negotiation having failed to arrest the rapid movements of the French advance-guard, the Emperor Francis Joseph withdrew from Vienna, in the utmost distress, to join the Emperor of Russia at his headquarters in Moravia, leaving the city in the hands of his grand chamberlain, Count Wurbna, to be surrendered by him to the French army upon its appearance, it being considered that it would be best to spare the capital of

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the Empire the horrors of a bombardment and capture by assault.

In his anxiety, Napoleon renewed his orders to Lannes, and Murat to endeavor by all possible means to gain possession of the Bridge of Thabor. The frequent passage of couriers between the outposts of the two armies had led to a sort of unofficial suspension of hostilities for three days past, and it was of this unusual state of things that Lannes and Murat took advantage to carry out their daring plan for the capture of the bridge.

At daybreak on the 13th of November, General Sebastiani, at the head of a brigade of dragoons, appeared at the gates of the city, which was at once surrendered by Count Wurbna under his instructions, and the French quietly took possession, passing through the long, winding streets whose sidewalks were thronged with its stolid German citizens who, shivering in the cold morning air, gazed curiously upon those warriors whose valor had been so fatal to their country. The perfect discipline preserved by the French troops and the courteous treatment shown to every one soon gained the good-will of the inhabitants so completely that they gave no trouble whatever to the French military authorities during their occupation.

General Meerfelt, in withdrawing his forces from Vienna, left the Bridge of Thabor in charge of Prince Auersperg, who, with powerful batteries in position, and a strong rear-guard on the left or opposite bank from Vienna, held this the sole avenue of communication with the northern provinces of the Empire, leaving a battery and a detachment of infantry at the Vienna end.

Everything was in readiness for the destruction of

this immense bridge: the combustibles were thickly laid down on both sides along its whole length, the trains of powder ready, and the matches set. Auersperg had but to give the word of command and in a moment it would be blown up and wrapped in flames from end to end, without the possibility of escape or retreat to the devoted column advancing upon it, whose vast funeral pile it would become, with only the alternative, for those who might succeed in leaping over its parapets of fire, of a watery grave in the depths of the Danube, far below.

Powerful batteries, heavily charged with grapeshot, stood ready to sweep away anything that dared to venture upon the bridge, and it was, in truth, beyond the reach of open attack. Yet, there were approaching, even then, men who would dare such perils to get possession of it—men whom nothing could daunt, whose iron nerve and absolute coolness in the midst of danger—where a single false move, or the merest accident, meant the instant destruction of all—would enable them to carry through an enterprise which it seemed nothing short of suicide to attempt.

Murat directed Marshal Lannes and General Bertrand to make a reconnoissance to the river at once. Followed by the 10th hussars they crossed the city and found at the gate of the faubourg of Leopold an outpost of Austrian Uhlans. As there had been no fighting of any kind for three days, friendly gestures were made to the Uhlans. They then approached the commander of the detachment, talking with him, attaching themselves to his steps and following him towards the bridge. Arrived on the banks of the river they still persist in following, in spite of his objections: the Austrian impatiently moves

away, when the French officers demand to speak to the general in command of the troops stationed on the other side of the river: he consents to that but will not suffer the hussars to go with them to the bridge, and the 10th is obliged to stay in its position. Nevertheless, other troops come up with Murat to Lannes, and the situation now becomes tense in the highest degree, for the least sign which disclosed the purpose to pass the bridge by force, would bring about its instant destruction by fire and explosives, for which the train was in readiness to light. At all hazards this must be prevented.

A *ruse* was the only way and was instantly adopted. In order the better to impose upon the unsuspecting simplicity of the Germans, Lannes and Murat advanced on foot at the head of Bertrand's grenadiers who in column carried their arms slung over their shoulders, and were attended on both sides by a host of purposely arranged stragglers of different arms of the service, as in time of profound peace. The two Marshals being only a short distance away the Austrian colonel halts them; he had there at the bridge-head two cannons and a small detachment which goes upon the bridge and places itself there in order just behind their guns. General Belliard advances in a leisurely way, as if promenading, with his hands behind his back, with two officers of the staff: they politely salute the Austrian officers, and call out, "not to fire, as the armistice had been concluded."

Lannes joined him with others, they came and went, back and forth, talking all the while and thus gradually arrive in the midst of the Austrians. Here a fresh difficulty arose: the officer in command of the post would not, at first, receive them, but he yielded finally to their courteous insistence, and the conversation was estab-

lished, which was one step gained of the utmost importance. They repeat to him the statements already made by General Bertrand, that negotiations were going on, that the war was over, and that there would be no more fighting. "Why," said the marshal to him, "do you still hold your cannons trained upon us? Has there not been enough of blood, enough battles? Do you want to attack us, to prolong the evils from which you suffer worse than we? Come, now! No more provocations: turn your pieces."

Half-convinced, half-over-awed by the courteous, compelling manner of the French marshal, the commandant obeys: the artillery is turned towards the Austrian troops, whose arms are also placed in slings like the French.

During these conversations the group of officers, followed by the column of French grenadiers, advanced slowly but continually upon the bridge, masking some sappers and artillerymen in the rear, who, with as little noise as possible, carefully drop the combustibles into the river, as fast as they come to them, sprinkle water on the powder and cut the fuses. And thus, foot by foot of the bridge is secured against fire, at least, while the marshals and officers gently press the Austrians along when they show a disposition to halt. The Austrian commandant, too little acquainted with French to be much interested in the conversation they address to him, observes that the French troops have advanced upon the bridge, and endeavors to make them understand that this ought not to be—that he would not allow it. Marshal Lannes and General Belliard, with the greatest politeness, try to reassure him: they remind him that the weather is very cold, that their soldiers only "marked time" to warm themselves by movement. But the group

continually advances, always reassuring him, till it is already three-fourths over the bridge; and, here it is, that this obscure Austrian hero, whose name well deserves to be remembered, Johann Bulgarich, captain in the Imperial Szeckler Regiment of Infantry, though he has thus far been imposed upon by the great military rank of his intrusive visitors, suddenly rises to a full sense of his own duty, and indifferent to the death he will instantly bring upon himself and his fellow-countrymen about him, shouts the order, "By battery, fire! Fire instantly!"—to the powerful battery at the northern end of the bridge: the troops there run to arms, the gunners stand to the heavy guns, charged with grape, with lintstocks raised! The moment is terrible, but the Austrian has to deal with men not easy to disconcert. In an instant the bridge would be wrapped in flames, and swept with grapeshot, when Lannes walks straight up to him, saying, with a loud voice, "What are you about? Do you not see?" Lannes seizes him by one arm, Belliard by the other: they entreat him, they threaten him, exclaiming, they insist that he does not understand them! The artillery-men, seeing their own officers intermingled with the French, forebore to fire, but one of the Austrian officers rushes forward to set a light to the combustible matter; he is seized before he can do so, his match is snatched from his hands, and he is sternly told that if he "commits such a crime it will be the worse for him!"

The French marshals and officers then run at full speed to the Austrian battery, assure them that the armistice has been concluded; then sitting down on the guns politely beg the artillerymen to inform Prince Auersperg of their presence. At this moment Auersperg arrives, accompanied by Bertrand. Lannes advances to Prince

Auersperg, and, with an injured air, complains of the actions of the commanding officer, demands that "he be replaced, punished, or, at least, sent away from the rear-guard, where he would trouble the negotiations!" Auersperg falls into the trap. He discusses, approves, contradicts, loses himself in a useless conversation. He is informed that the first condition of the armistice is that the French should occupy the bridges, and that he must not think of interfering in so grave a matter, while the negotiations are going forward, no matter what his orders as to the bridge might have been!

Meantime, the column of grenadiers, with arms still slung over their shoulders, laughing and talking, but not daring to quicken their pace, lest it should cause the Austrians to fire the bridge and open fire with their guns, while too distant to capture, before either could be prevented, continue to advance slowly at the nerve-racking pace of "common-time," as they had done all the way over that long powder-mine, which might explode at any instant!

Perhaps, this is the only instance recorded, when troops advanced, in the light of open day, to attack a battery over a loaded mine half a mile long, at such a pace! At last they arrive among the group of officers who are still engaged in discussion: suddenly rushing among the cannon, without orders, they seize them before the cannoneers can recover from their consternation, all the while assuring the Austrians that they are free to withdraw without harm, that this seizure of the guns is only to save the useless effusion of blood on both sides while "the negotiations" are going on. The unhappy Austrian general, dreading trouble if he shed blood needlessly, loses his head so far as to withdraw, taking with him

the troops which had been given him to defend and destroy the bridge. Strong reinforcements of French troops are hurried over the bridge, which is, it is needless to say, guarded and protected from any possible chance of injury. Reconnoissances are sent in all directions, and Belliard leads his troops upon the road to Stockerau, where they take up positions.

Auersperg, dumbfounded at the results of his foolish actions, hastens to Murat to make his complaints, who, after a short, but unsatisfactory talk to Auersperg, refers him to the Emperor, and passes the river, too.

The Austrian picket on the Vienna side watched the bridge persistently, and the French were in too good humor to undeceive or attack them, after the marvellous thing that had just happened. The troops of both nations were mixed up at Stockerau, as at the banks of the river, without fighting. Napoleon disapproved of this melange, and directed that the picket be sent back into Vienna, where they would be removed from the vicinity of the bridge, and disarmed. And speaking of this capture afterwards, he says: "Hearing at Burkersdorf of this astonishing event, I hastened at midnight to examine the bridge, and determine what course I should now pursue. I bivouacked there for the night and hastened the arrival of my troops: I threw Murat, by Stockerau, on the road to Znaim, and returned with my guard to establish my headquarters in the beautiful palace of Schoenbrunn, the Versailles of Austria."

The imperial family of Austria, including the young archduchess, Marie Louise, his future empress, had fled shortly before his arrival in the utmost haste towards Hungary: indeed, Schoenbrunn itself came almost as near to being surprised as the Bridge of Thabor, and had



their presence there been known to the French, the Imperial Family and Court might have been captured and detained by them—an event which would have added a most romantic, not to say a sentimental, interest, to the already marvellous campaign of 1805. Most fortunately for the imperial fugitives, they escaped this crowning humiliation and misfortune, but by a margin so narrow, that their nest was still warm, so to speak, when Napoleon and his guard lay down in it. And it suggests the rather interesting query, whether, had such a thing happened, it might not have brought the war to a more sudden conclusion than followed the capture of the Bridge of Thabor, even: whether, in the conflict between his feelings as a husband and father, and his duties as a sovereign, the Emperor of Germany (as was still the title of Francis Joseph at that period) might not have made peace at once, rather than continue the war, with his family and court captives in the hands of his enemy; or, whether, on the other hand, he would not have felt bound, by the interests of the Empire, to continue the struggle to a finish? At all events, no other sovereign, in modern times, has been so near to so painful and trying an alternative.

The unfortunate Prince Auersperg was tried by court martial, after the conclusion of Peace, condemned to be degraded, to be dragged on a hurdle through the streets of Vienna, and finally to be put to death at the hands of the public executioner. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and, as his health was broken, he was released after ten years in prison, but he was deprived of his military rank, expelled from the nobility, and repudiated by his family. He died soon after his freedom.



## *CAPTURE OF BRIDGE OF VIENNA* 105

The unexpected capture of the bridge at Vienna by the French caused the greatest embarrassment to the Austrian military authorities throughout the Empire, and gave a new and doubtful aspect to the prospects of the Allies in Moravia, as Napoleon could now quickly march against them with all his forces.

To the French emperor it afforded the highest satisfaction, and, in truth, it may be said to have determined the fate of the campaign. At the second invasion of Austria in 1809 by the French, and capture of Vienna, the Austrians did not repeat the fatal error they committed in 1805, but promptly burned the bridges over the Danube as they evacuated the city. In consequence, Napoleon was obliged to fight the terrible battles of Aspern and Wagram in order to force the passage of the river, at a cost of nearly 40,000 men to him, and as many more to the Austrians, and a struggle of almost three months to conclude the campaign. In 1805 Marshals Lannes and Murat captured the great bridge without the loss of a man or the firing of a shot, and the campaign was gloriously concluded (before Prussia could attack France as it intended to do), in less than three weeks at Austerlitz, with a loss to the French of scarcely one-fourth that of 1809.

Without the possession of this bridge, the battle of Austerlitz could not have been fought—the most glorious of all Napoleon's victories—which finally prostrated the strength of Austria and Russia in the depths of Moravia, where they had not expected to fight a battle, and had scarcely any magazines at hand for their routed armies, which could with difficulty find subsistence in the narrow limits within which they were suddenly concentrated for this battle, which cost them nearly half their

numbers, and, at one blow, dissolved the Third Coalition against France, leaving Austria a suppliant for whatever terms of peace the victor would grant.

The names of Austerlitz, Aspern, and Wagram will ever be glorious in the military annals of France and Austria. Those vast fields of carnage and death have been, and will be for ages to come, visited by countless thousands of the curious from all countries, who would view the scenes of the great tragedies of history.

But few among them, as they go forth from beautiful Vienna to those memorable spots, will give a thought to the sublime, though bloodless, deed of courage and patriotism which took place, in the cold gray of that November morning in 1805, directly beneath the magnificent structure which now stretches across the Danube, in the place once filled by the Great Wooden Bridge of Thabor.

## PURSUIT AND SURRENDER OF THE PRUSSIAN ROYAL GUARD AT PRENZLAU, 1806

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Prussia did not join the Third Coalition against France in the year 1805, composed of Great Britain, Austria, Russia and some of the minor powers, which the genius of Pitt, aided by floods of English gold, had formed to divert, by an invasion of France from the East, the threatened invasion of England by Napoleon's grand army, assembled for that purpose on the shores of the English Channel.

Nevertheless, a strong war party existed in Prussia, headed by its beautiful queen, Louisa, and the gallant young Prince Louis, nephew to Frederic the Great, who were ardently supported by the most powerful, exclusive military and social organization in the Kingdom, the officers of the Prussian Royal Guard, (the standards of which were embroidered by the hands of the Queen), all belonging to the great junker or noble class in Prussia, who openly urged that that country, with its powerful army, should enter the Coalition for the destruction of the French Empire: but Frederic William and his prime minister Haugwitz entertained different views, chiefly founded upon the belief that Prussia could gain more, and without any of the losses inseparable from war, by preserving its neutrality and claiming its reward when negotiations for peace should be opened by the exhausted belligerents.

Furthermore, France had already seized the Kingdom of Hanover, then belonging to Great Britain, and, by a temporary agreement with Prussia, committed its occupation to Prussian troops, till a general peace, knowing the anxious desire of that power to incorporate it with its own dominions, though having no grounds whatever against a friendly power, with which it was not at war to justify it in doing so. But the lure, thus artfully thrown out by the French emperor, had its effect: Hanover was rich, contained a million inhabitants, adjoined the Prussian territories, and so glittering a prize was not lightly to be thrown away. Prussia, therefore, remained quiet. The French troops evacuated Hanover, accordingly, and joined the forces of Marshal Bernadotte, who was moving by forced marches across Germany to encircle the Austrian army under General Mack at Ulm, and cut off its retreat to Austria, while the rest of the French army under the emperor completed its investment from all directions; the result was the capture or destruction of almost the entire Austrian army of 80,000 men in a few days.

In order to reach the positions assigned him, in season, Bernadotte had either to cross, or go round the isolated Prussian principality of Anspach, which lay directly in his path; this last could not be done within the time required for his movement, and so he was ordered to march through it, without halting, but also without the permission which there was no time to obtain from Berlin. These instructions were scrupulously obeyed, the campaign of Ulm ended by the 21st of October in the surrender of Mack's army, and the Grand Army, with rapid strides, pursued the retreating Russians who had only reached Bavaria when Mack surrendered with the

remains of his great army; Vienna was occupied by the French army by the middle of November.

Great was the outburst of indignation at Berlin as soon as the affair of Anspach was known. The King and cabinet took offense to an extent which could hardly have been anticipated, and which was greatly beyond the amount of injury inflicted, at the violation of the territory of Anspach. But it furnished a pretext to the war party which now clamored loudly for war, and sweeping away all opposition, Haugwitz was despatched with the Prussian ultimatum to Napoleon's headquarters in Moravia just before the battle of Austerlitz, accompanied by a note fixing December 15th as the date for commencing hostilities by Prussia, whose armies were already assembling. The total overthrow of the Austro-Russian army on the 2nd of December, followed by a negotiation for peace by the allies on the 6th of December, naturally caused the able Prussian minister to keep his declaration of war in his pocket, and he had the effrontery to tender the congratulations of his master upon the result of the battle of Austerlitz to Napoleon who knew something of his real instructions, and in an outburst of rage, denounced the treachery of Prussia. However, not wishing to break with that power then he offered to overlook everything and cede Hanover outright to Prussia, if she would, in good faith, enter into a French alliance. Haugwitz eagerly accepted this offer, as well as the easy way out of the difficult position he was in, and hastened to Berlin with the splendid prize so long coveted there. With many qualms Prussia at length accepted the great bribe, but it led almost directly to war with France, and in less than a year. No sooner had Austria and Russia been disposed of by the Treaty

of Presburg, than Napoleon, early in 1806, set about extending the Confederation of the Rhine over the parts of North Germany which Prussia regarded as peculiarly within its own sphere of influence.

The disputes thus engendered soon ripened into the most hostile sentiments, especially on the side of Prussia, whose pride was deeply offended by the open disregard of France for its claims in North Germany. Conscious, too, that it had not dared to unsheath its half-drawn sword in 1805, when all now recognized that then had been Prussia's opportunity, a mad, reckless desire sprang up to reassert its former weight as a great power, at any cost.

Matters were in this inflammable state at Berlin, when Napoleon, about June, 1806, wrote a personal letter to the King of Prussia, disregarding the usual diplomatic forms, to ascertain his real sentiments towards France, and dispatched it direct to him by a staff-officer, Count de Marbot, who has related in his "Memoirs," interesting details of his courteous treatment by the King and Queen, during the month he was detained awaiting the former's reply to the letter he bore. And referring to the state of public feeling at Berlin, he says, that: "At length, in the month of August, a general explosion against France broke out, and the Queen, Prince Louis, the nobility, the army, and the whole population cried loudly for war. The King let himself be carried away. . . . Before my departure from Berlin, I had evidence of the frenzy to which their hatred of Napoleon carried the Prussian nation, usually so calm. The officers whom I knew ventured no longer to speak to me or salute me: many Frenchmen were insulted by the populace: the officers of the Noble Guard pushed their swagger to the point of

whetting their sword-blades on the stone steps of the French ambassador's house. . . . When I got to Paris I gave the Emperor a reply in the King of Prussia's own hand. He read it and questioned me on what I had seen and heard at Berlin. When I told him how the guardsmen had whetted their sabres on the steps of the French Embassy, he brought his hand to his sword-hilt, and indignantly exclaimed: 'The insolent braggarts shall soon learn that our weapons need no sharpening!'

And from other accounts it appears that the officers of the guard, fearing the King might again recede from war, as he had done the year before, determined to push insult to such a point that war must follow.

We are told that the Queen of Prussia, arrayed in the plumed helmet and uniform of her regiment of dragoon-guards, daily displayed her beautiful figure on horseback at their head in the Avenue Unter den Linden: that her head was covered with a helmet of polished steel, above which waved a magnificent plume, her cuirass glittered with gold and silver, while a tunic of silver cloth completed her costume and fell to her feet, which were shod in red boots with gold spurs. That this dress heightened the charms of the beautiful queen and that the enthusiasm was universal, but in the guards and officers of that distinguished corps it rose to a pitch approaching to frenzy, while the theatres nightly resounded, amid thunders of applause, with patriotic war songs. Also that cooler heads saw little ground for any rational confidence in such frothy ebullitions, and even Prince Louis indicated that he hoped for more efficient support in the field than the declaimers of Berlin. Finally the full military strength of Prussia, 240,000 strong, was directed to take the field, splendidly equipped and rigidly



disciplined, as it is to-day; also filled with over-weening pride, as it is to-day.

Alison says: "Such was the general enthusiasm, and so little did they anticipate the terrible reverse which awaited them, that the Prussian guards marched out of Berlin, singing triumphant airs, amid the shouts of the inhabitants, almost in a state of sedition from the tumultuous joy they experienced on at length being about to measure their strength with the enemy. Careless of the future, chanting songs of victory, and enjoying its triumphant march through the villages, the army bent its steps towards Erfurth; strong in the recollection of the Great Frederic, stronger still in the anticipation of the overthrow of Napoleon, and dreaming rather of the banks of the Rhine or the plains of Champagne, than of the shores of the Vistula or the fields of Poland."

This paper does not have to do with the part taken by the Prussian Royal Guard in the disastrous double-battle fought at Jena and Auerstaedt October 14, 1806, further than to note that it retired from the latter field, well beaten, but not routed, as it acted as the rear-guard to protect the retreat of the rest of the army, which, although it consisted of 55,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, or 65,000 in all, the chosen troops of the Prussian army, with an immense train of artillery, and having the King and the Duke of Brunswick at its head, had been defeated with great loss after a gallant struggle, by Marshal Davout at the head of the Third French army corps, consisting of only 26,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, in a fair, stand-up fight in an open field, with the odds of more than two to one! A more decisive test of the military prowess of two nations was never seen, and

it might well be remembered in these days of Teutonic aggressiveness.

A second Prussian army under Marshal Moellendorf had been totally defeated and routed by Napoleon himself the same day at Jena, about twenty miles distant from Auerstaedt, and fled towards the King's army, of whose disaster they were still ignorant, closely pursued.

As darkness fell the two beaten armies suddenly met in their flight, and, becoming inextricably mixed together, terror seized upon the boldest, a frightful panic ensued, and abandoning their remaining guns and carriages, all fled in wild disorder throughout the night, mistaking the noises and straggling shots of their own masses for those of the enemy.

The King himself narrowly escaped capture during the tumult and horrors of the night, and reached Sommerda early the next morning, almost unattended—without even so much as an escort of the royal guard for his protection.

The broken troops hurried, just as chance threw them together, towards the great fortress of Magdeburg on the Elbe, behind whose strong defences they hoped to find refuge: the army lost in two days over 60,000 men, besides nearly all its artillery, standards and baggage.

For some days hopes were entertained of reorganizing the wrecks of the defeated armies, and holding on at Magdeburg until the great Russian army from Poland could arrive. But the discouragement of the men was so great that this plan was quickly abandoned, and Prince Hohenlohe, having selected fifty battalions and one hundred and sixty squadrons, including all the Prussian guard, which had not, after all, suffered nearly so much as some of the other divisions of the army at Auerstaedt,

set out for Stettin on the Oder, with the design of crossing the river there and following the King into East Prussia whither he had already started.

The French were already closing around Magdeburg when Hohenlohe marched out of its lines on the 22nd of October. Learning of this retreat of so large a body, Napoleon ordered Marshals Murat and Lannes with their respective corps of cavalry and infantry to pursue and capture or destroy Hohenlohe's army before it could cross the Oder. A tremendous foot-race between the two armies immediately followed, which was to test their marching qualities to the utmost. The object of the Prussians was to gain the defile of Locknitz to the westward of Stettin, which would insure their safe entry into that great fortress and passage across the Oder; that of the French to head them off from that defile by literally out-running them. There were two roads from Magdeburg to Stettin; one by Spandau and Berlin, the shorter and better; the other by Rothenau, Ruppin and Zeydenich. Having the start of Murat and Lannes, who pressed his rear, Hohenlohe marched swiftly towards Spandau, designing to abandon Berlin to its fate, but when he approached Spandau on the 25th, he was thunder-struck to learn that this strong place had surrendered on the first summons the same day to French troops, which had hurried forward to Berlin on another road.

He instantly saw the full extent of his danger, in being cut off from the route through Spandau, as he would now be compelled to take the long circuit to the north by way of Gransee to Zeydenich, while his pursuers marching upon the direct road through Spandau for Zeydenich, would probably reach that point first.

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Stimulated to desperation, the unhappy Prussians now put forth their utmost exertions to effect their escape. And Prince Hohenlohe, we are told, instead of marching in one compact mass, bivouacking on the high-roads and making the people and Prussian authorities furnish provisions there, distributed his troops at night among the villages, thus tiring them by useless marches to and from the cantonments, and producing disorder and want of discipline by an absurd dispersion. And that, as if still further to increase the danger, instead of placing his numerous cavalry on the right in the direction the French were approaching, he threw nearly the whole of it on his extreme left by Wittstock, while the infantry marched on Neu-Ruppin, and a small advance guard under General Schimpelpenick on Zeydenich.

Murat, with his corps of cavalry, had marched so rapidly from Magdeburg that he reached Spandau just as it surrendered on the 25th, and at once marched by Oranienburg on Zeydenich towards which the Prussians were also headed. Lannes who followed him with the Fifth corps of infantry, only reached Oranienburg on the 26th. Prince Hohenlohe on hearing of the arrival of the French in large numbers at Oranienburg, decided to hurry his infantry by Gransee on to Zeydenich and the next day to Prenzlau so as to gain the defile of Locknitz to the west of the great fortress of Stettin on the 28th, where his retreat could not be cut off, and he would be safe.

His cavalry took the same direction by Wittstock and Woldeck. At Gransee Hohenlohe learned that his advance guard under Schimpelpenick had been beaten by Murat at Zeydenich, and had fled in great disorder to Prenzlau: despairing of forcing a passage against the

victorious French, he decided to gain Boitzenburg-près-Prenzlau by making another detour by Furstenburg and Lychen, where he hoped to meet Blucher who was also seeking to escape at the head of a force of 24,000 men. Hohenlohe, by an effort almost beyond the strength of the men, reached Lychen the 27th, but Blucher had learned too late of this forced march, and had not yet passed Templin. Having waited three hours in vain for Blucher, he hurried on to Boitzenburg. Murat, informed on his march from Templin of this new direction of the flying Prussians, hurried with the three cavalry divisions of Grouchy, Beaumont and Lassalle on Wichmansdorf where he attacked the gens-d'armes of the Prussian guard which flanked the march; to assail and overthrow this superb body of cuirassiers on the shores of the lake was the work of a moment only of hand-to-hand combat, in which it was almost cut to pieces with the loss of 300 slain. Four standards of solid gold, belonging to the Guards were the trophies of this combat.

Some of the officers of this corps had insulted the French ambassador in order the more surely to involve the King in the war, and they now expiated this conduct by being forced to the humiliation of surrender in the open field. Hohenlohe, alarmed at this news, formed his infantry, and hesitated whether to enter Boitzenburg, or take to the cross-road between Prenzlau and Passewalk.

Upon the report of a patrol he decided to enter Boitzenburg for the night and take the road next day for Prenzlau where he would find provisions and forage for his troops, as well as some security from the attacks of the enemy whom he hoped he had shaken off by his forced marches. Leaving Boitzenburg early on the

morning of the 28th, Hohenlohe spurred his wearied troops to a final burst of speed, to reach Prenzlau by way of Shonermark and Gustrow, which he succeeded in entering that day. Alison thus describes the final catastrophe to Hohenlohe's brilliant force:

"No sooner was Murat informed of his (Hohenlohe's) change of direction, than he marched across the country all night, from the one road to the other, again got before him, and assailed the Prussian horse at once in front and flank with his terrible dragoons on the following morning (October 28th) as they were continuing their march two leagues beyond Prenzlau. To troops wearied by incessant marching for a fortnight together, and discouraged by such a succession of disasters, the shock of his victorious squadrons was irresistible; the Prussian cavalry were speedily broken, and fell back in disorder to the suburbs of Prenzlau, already encumbered with infantry and artillery. To complete their misfortunes, Marshal Lannes appeared at this critical moment, on their right flank, having, with indefatigable perseverance, marched all night from Templin on the direct road. Murat now summoned Hohenlohe to surrender, which the latter refused, and brought up a powerful battery of cannon to answer the fire of the French artillery, which was severely galling his troops as they attempted to debouche from the town. This battery was immediately attacked and carried: a regiment of infantry and cavalry which advanced to support it broken and made prisoners. Prince Augustus, at the head of his regiment, was surrounded and at length made prisoner, with almost all his men while bravely resisting to the last.

"Overwhelmed by such a multitude of calamities, and

seeing no chance of escape, while every hour increased the forces against him by permitting the formidable battalions of Lannes to arrive on his rear and flank, Prince Hohenlohe, after several unsuccessful attempts to obtain a capitulation, was obliged to lay down his arms, on condition that the officers should be dismissed on their parole. With him were taken sixteen thousand men, including the flower of the Prussian army; the guards, six chosen regiments of cavalry, forty standards and fifty pieces of artillery. Notwithstanding their many defeats and disastrous circumstances, this grievous surrender did not take place without the most profound grief by the Prussian troops; the officers retired from the circle where it had been agreed to in stern silence, or shedding tears; many of them fiercely and indignantly accused their commanders of treachery, and invited their comrades to cut their way through the enemy sword in hand; the private soldiers, by loud sobs and lamentations, gave vent to their grief, and, flinging their muskets on the ground, slowly and mournfully pursued their way into the town; while a loud flourish of trumpets, the quick rattle of drums, and the triumphant shouts of the soldiers, announced the successive arrival of the French regiments at the scene of their triumph."

It appears from other accounts that the great column of Hohenlohe's cavalry did not surrender at Prenzlau, but had retired to Pasewalk on learning the disaster of its chief. There they were quickly followed by Murat, with the divisions of Grouchy and Lassalle, and surrendered, with a brigade of infantry, without the slightest resistance, in the open field, which cavalry are supposed never to do.

Such was the stunning conclusion of this most strenu-

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ous race of its kind ever known, covering about 200 miles, over the route followed, in the six days from the 22nd to the 28th of October, 1806, when 16,000 of the proudest, most warlike troops in Europe,—broken in spirit by defeat, out-marched, out-fought, and utterly done up by forced marches—*surrendered to their pursuers on the open battle-field, who had not even been able to surround them*, and had scarcely as many men arrived upon the scene of action!

To complete the record of this episode,—so humiliating to Prussian military pride,—it should be noted that the goal of this desperate race, Stettin, a fortress of the first order, armed with 150 pieces of cannon and garrisoned by six thousand regular troops, commanding the mouths of the River Oder, and all the great lines of communication in those regions—ignominiously surrendered, without firing a shot, at the first summons, which Lassalle had the audacity to make, with no other force at hand than his dragoons, when it could not have been taken by all the cavalry in Europe! Lassalle, indeed, could not securely occupy his great prize until Marshal Lannes, who was astonished at such a surrender, arrived with his corps of infantry and furnished a garrison for it.

All the officers of the Prussian guard, especially, who had escaped, in considerable numbers, from the surrender of Hohenlohe, were picked up as they wandered about the country, by the light cavalry of the French, taken to Berlin, and ostentatiously marched by the Emperor through the Avenue Unter den Linden to Spandau, including in the route followed, the scene of their sword-whetting episodes on the steps and window-sills of the house of the French ambassador a few weeks before!



Modern history furnishes no parallel to this unique revenge of the French emperor.

Berlin, for more than a year, the scene of the vain-glorious boastings and parades of the guardsmen, was made the witness of their humiliation and punishment, that those who witnessed their triumphant march forth to Jena and Auerstaedt, should behold their ignominious return from Prenzlau!

And this passage was under the eyes of Berlin which knew them so well, as well as the curious gaze of their French conquerors, whose uniforms were now everywhere in evidence where their own had been.

Those who witnessed this march of those haughty young men—now disarmed, on foot and surrounded by their French guards, who, however, treated them courteously, it is said,—declared that no words could describe their despair at the unparalleled calamities which their inconsiderate pride and passions had brought upon the country: wherever they went, great crowds beset their steps, some lamenting their sufferings, others loudly and coarsely reproaching them as the authors of all the public misfortunes.

The gates of the strong fortress of Spandau at length opened to receive the hapless, wearied captives, who were glad to find such a refuge after all the humiliations they had undergone, and there we may leave them.

#### FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL COURT FROM BERLIN

In their flight from Berlin to Graudenz, and later to Königsberg in the farthest extremity of East Prussia, the King and Queen were accompanied by the royal family, the cabinet ministers, and the royal court and

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attendants, save only the gallant old Prince Ferdinand, brother to Frederic the Great, who remained quietly in his palace to face the enemy upon their arrival. He alone, of all the royal family, had strenuously opposed the war with France, and predicted defeat to Prussia, but was over-ridden by the hot-heads who clamored for war.

He was treated by Napoleon with the greatest courtesy and kindness, and as a special rank of consideration to him as the brother of so great a king, his young son, Prince Augustus of Prussia, captured near Prenzlau while bravely combatting at the head of his regiment, was permitted to remain with him in Berlin on his parole, instead of being sent a prisoner to France as would otherwise have happened.

Contemporaneous writers give interesting descriptions of the curious, not to say fantastic, appearance presented by the immense cavalcade embracing the royal court that hurried away from the capital in the wake of the royal fugitives. At this period, the princesses, grand-duchesses, duchesses and other noble ladies of Germany are represented to have dressed in exceedingly bad taste, and, displaying neither art nor grace, to have covered their heads with plumes, bits of gold, and silver gauze, fastened with quantities of diamond-headed pins. And in consequence of the enormous hoops worn by those ladies, that the equipages used by the German nobility were all of necessity, absurdly large and clumsy coaches, which were drawn by several horses, of a by no means fine appearance, harnessed with ropes, and placed so far apart that an immense space was required in which to turn the carriages.

The only parallel, perhaps, to this interesting, if

ludicrous, flight of an assemblage of such numbers and distinction, is found in the repeated similar flights of the Imperial Court of Austria from Vienna to Hungary, upon the rapid approaches of the French invaders to that city in the wars of 1797, 1800, 1805 and 1809.

Certainly Jena, as well as Hohenlinden and Ulm, must have been revelations of the possession of an undreamed of capacity for sudden, strenuous movement and activities, to vast numbers of hitherto haughty, serene personages of both sexes, obese and otherwise, who would have considered themselves quite removed from anything even suggestive of haste, much less of undignified flight.

Yet such were the latent powers of rapid movement developed by these eminent persons in those lumbering vehicles, even over the wretched, sandy roads of the Prussian Poland of that day, that by no efforts, on the part of the swiftest of the French light horsemen, could any of them ever be overhauled!

In such unheroic flight did the good people of Berlin behold their rulers and the haughty declaimers for war save themselves, while leaving them to their fate.

Referring to this flight of the court and nobility from Berlin, as well as the Teutonic feminine hysteria in urging on the war, the Emperor said to the Prussian Count Neal who presented himself in his majesty's salon at the Royal Palace: "Well, sir, your women wished for war: behold the result. You ought to govern your families better." (Several letters from the count's warlike daughter had been intercepted. "Napoleon," it was said in these letters by the young countess to her correspondents throughout Prussia, "will not *dare* to go to war! Let us then wage it against him!") "No," said his majesty to M. Neal, "I do not wish for war: not from a want

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of confidence in my resources, as you may observe, but because the blood of my subjects is precious in my eyes: and because duty requires me to spill it but for their security and happiness alone. But the good people of Berlin are the victims of the war; while those who have provoked it have all fled."

The following curious and highly interesting details of the brief, astonishing campaign of Jena, are taken from the bulletins of the Emperor to the Grand Army, issued during his stay in Berlin.

In the 22nd Bulletin, dated Berlin, October 29, 1806, referring to the capture of the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, in the open field, and the surrender of the Prince of Hohenlohe with the Prussian Royal Guard at Prenzlau, it was stated that, "Four standards of solid gold, belonging to the guards, were the trophies of the skirmish at Wichmansdorf. . . . Those celebrated Gentlemen Guards, who were so much pitied after their defeat, are the same who, during three months, have prejudiced the city of Berlin against them by a thousand vexations. They were in the habit of collecting under the windows of M. de la Foret, the minister of France, to sharpen their sabres. People of sense shrugged their shoulders, but inexperienced youth and hysterical women, in imitation of the Queen, discovered in these ridiculous farces, certain omens of the great destinies awaiting the Prussian arms. . . .

"Prince Hohenlohe, one of the prime instigators of the war, has laid down his arms at Prenzlau, with 16,000 men, mostly guards and grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, 45 pairs of colours and 64 pieces of harnessed artillery. The remnants of the King of Prussia's guards have fallen into our hands. We have all the colours of

the King's foot and mounted guards. . . . Besides Prince Hohenlohe, the Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Prince Augustus of Prussia, and many generals and officers of rank were also taken there. Prince Augustus Ferdinand, brother of Prince Louis (killed at Saalfeld) and son of Prince Ferdinand, brother to the great Frederic, was taken by our dragoons, sword in hand."

The 23rd Bulletin, dated October 30th, states that after having fully remounted or replaced inferior horses of the French cavalry with the better ones taken from the Prussians, there remained 6,000 excellent horses, with saddles and bridles, in the great cavalry stables at Spandau, with as many sabres. This Bulletin then proceeds: "Among the standards we have obtained are those which were embroidered by the hands of the beautiful Queen, whose beauty has been as fatal to the Prussians as that of Helen was to the Trojans. . . . The Emperor attended to-day a grand parade which lasted from eleven a. m. until six in the evening. He attentively examined his foot and horse guard, and all the fine regiments of the cuirassiers of the division of Nansouty: he made several promotions, after inquiring critically about everything."

The Emperor then informs the troops that, "The present movements are really very curious. It resembles a hunting match, where the light cavalry, which watches the motions of the army, is constantly interrupted by whole columns of the enemy whose retreat is cut off."

The 25th Bulletin, dated November 2nd, announces that, "The general of division Beaumont this day presented to the Emperor 50 more pairs of colours and standards, taken from the enemy: he passed through the city with the dragoons under his command who carried

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these trophies. The whole number of the colours, which were the fruits of the Battle of Jena, now amounts to two hundred. Marshal Davoust caused Custrin to be surrounded and summoned and the place surrendered; we made 4,000 prisoners: 90 pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts, in the best order, and enough stores to supply the whole army two months. . . . The column of the Prussian general Bila was charged by General Becker with Boussart's brigade of dragoons on the plain in front of the small town of Anclam: all were overthrown, both infantry and cavalry, and General Becker entered the town with the enemy whom he obliged to surrender, four thousand in all. . . . Among the prisoners is the regiment of hussars of the King's guard, which after the Seven Years' War received from the Empress Catherine pelisses made of the skins of tigers, as a testimonial of its good conduct."

The 26th Bulletin, dated November 3d, recites that General Blucher, having been cut off from crossing the Oder into East Prussia, had retreated to the north. That on November 1st Marshal Murat was at Demmin, filing off to reach Rostock and to cut off General Blucher from the sea. That General Savary with a column of 600 horse arrived at Strelitz on October 31st, where he made prisoner the brother of the Queen of Prussia, who was a general in the service of the King.

The 27th Bulletin, dated Berlin, November 6th, when time enough had elapsed to reckon up some part of the enormous spoils taken from the Prussians, shows that, "There were found in Stettin, the mart of the Oder, vast quantities of English goods: we have taken in that place 500 pieces of cannon, and large supplies of provisions. . . . The Emperor reviewed the division of

dragoons of General Beaumont on the Public Square of Berlin. . . . Two thousand dragoons who followed the army on foot were that day remounted Spandau from the fine captured Prussian horses."

The 28th Bulletin, dated November 7th, continues recount the news of their successes: "His majes remained to-day upon the Public Square of Berlin from 11 o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon and was employed in reviewing the division of dragoons of Klien. He made several promotions. This division charged the enemy in a distinguished manner at the battle of Jena, and broke through several hollow squares of the Prussian army. . . . General Savary turned near Wismar towards the Baltic . . . and cut off the Prussian general Husdunne and made him prisoner with two regiments of hussars, and two battalions of grenadiers, with several pieces of cannon. . . . The siege equipage has been embarked at Dresden to prosecute the siege of Magdeburg: the Elbe is covered with it. . . . Marshal Ney takes charge of this siege.

The 29th Bulletin, dated November 9th, after referring to another review and parade of French troops in the Great Square of Berlin, recites: "His majesty orders that a contribution of 160,000,000 francs should be levied on the Prussian dominions and those of the allies," and then makes known the surrender of General Blucher at Lubeck with 16,000 men, four thousand of whom were cavalry, 80 cannons, many standards and observes: "Thus these Prussian generals, who, during the delirium of their enthusiasm and vanity, had indulged in so many sarcastic remarks against the Austrian generals, have renewed four different times the catastrophe of Ulm."

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The 30th Bulletin, of November 10, announces the surrender of Magdeburg, the greatest fortress of Prussia, after a mere show of resistance, with nearly 22,000 men, about 800 pieces of artillery, large magazines of all kinds, and then adds: "The French army will not quit Berlin before the Spanish, Dutch and French colonies are restored, and a general peace is made."

Finally the memorable 31st Bulletin, summing up and correcting the figures of several of the preceding capitulations, presents to the Grand Army the following stupendous results of that most brilliant campaign:

"The garrison of Magdeburg filed off on the 11th before Marshal Ney's corps. We captured there 20 generals, 800 officers, and 22,000 prisoners, among whom are 2,000 artillerists, 54 pairs of colours, 5 standards, 800 pieces of cannon, a million pounds of powder and a vast bridge equipage. Colonel Gerard has presented this morning to the Emperor, in the name of the First and Fourth corps, 60 pairs of colours taken at Lubeck from the corps of General Blucher. There were 22 standards and 4,000 horses ready harnessed. . . . The result of both capitulations has given us 120 pairs of colours and standards, and 45,000 prisoners. The total of the latter during the campaign now exceeds 140,000: the number of colours, 250: that of field-pieces taken in battle exceeds 800: that of cannon found at Berlin and the other places which have surrendered exceeds 4,000.

"The Emperor manœuvred yesterday his foot and horse guards in the plain near the gates of Berlin (now called the Templehofer Field). The day was delightful."

Early in November there appeared from the headquarters of the Emperor at Berlin an elaborate ordinance, which provided for the complete civil organiza-



tion and military occupation of the whole country from the Rhine to the Vistula, to secure the rear of the army, and support the campaign about to begin against the Russians in Poland and East Prussia, where the remains of the armies of Prussia had taken refuge.

Speaking of the triumphant stay of the Emperor at Berlin, the English historian Alison pays this tribute: "Careful, at the same time, to mingle with these important civil changes such deeds as might captivate the imaginations of his subjects, he paraded before the deputation which came to Berlin from the Senate of Paris to congratulate him upon his victories, three hundred and forty grenadiers of his Imperial Guard, each bearing a standard taken from the enemy in this short campaign—the most splendid display of military trophies seen in Europe since the triumphs of the Roman generals."

No considerable nation in modern times, at least, has ever met, not merely defeat, but annihilation, so sudden, complete and disgraceful. And it suggests a strong doubt, whether, after all, the Teutonic race is really capable of bearing up strongly under defeat, for nothing has occurred in any war since this pitiful record of 1806, to prove the contrary. It is to be remembered, too, that the Prussians are regarded as the bravest, the most robust and the most military portion of that race, in or out of Germany. Nor does the result of the war of 1870-71 clear away this doubt, when it is remembered that Germany opposed to France 1,000,000 soldiers, in perfect readiness, to only 350,000, not ready, and the genius of Moltke, to the treachery of Bazaine.

The Emperor Napoleon remained in Berlin for two weeks in those glorious autumn days, which were, indeed.

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days unrivalled and without a parallel in all history—days which stand unmatched, even in his own marvellous career of victory—days which were filled with the very magnificence and splendor of military glory and conquest, when not one passed that did not bring to him at his headquarters in the Royal Palace, where he lodged in imperial state, tidings of fresh victories by his marshals, of more surrenders of Prussian armies in the field, and of strong fortresses in every direction at the first summons by his victorious legions—the mighty fragments of a kingdom, twice as strong as it had been left by the Great Frederic, which were now garnered, almost at leisure, as the fruits of the splendid double-battle of Jena-Auerstaedt.

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GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA AGAINST  
FRANCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE  
IN 1806-7

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The history of Diplomacy, filled as it is with events of surpassing interest, affords few, if any, parallels to the diplomatic battle fought between Great Britain and Russia on the one side with France on the other in the years 1806-7, for the control of the still great Ottoman Empire, by inducing the Sublime Porte to ally itself with one or the other of the contending powers.

After the rupture of the Peace of Amiens in 1803, the war between England and France never ceased till 1814, and the truce with Russia, after her great defeat at Austerlitz, in December, 1805, only lasted till October, 1806, when the Emperor Alexander, smarting under that unexpected humiliation, eagerly joined Prussia and Great Britain in a new coalition against France.

The influence of Russia and England at Constantinople at this period was irresistible, while that of France was at a low ebb. England posed as a friend of the Turks, while the remembrance of Bonaparte's unprovoked attack on Egypt and Syria seven years before still rankled in their minds, to the detriment now of French hopes.

By the treaty of Jassy which concluded a long and disastrous war between Turkey and Russia, the former had been forced to agree that the then waiwodes or governors of the great provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia

should not be dismissed from office for seven years, and by a supplementary treaty in 1802, that they should not be removed without the consent of Russia, which, in all things, assumed a domineering attitude towards Turkey. But the submission to this was only because Turkey felt unable to resist the Muscovites, and had no allies to look to for help.

Early in the summer of 1806 it had become evident that Prussia, backed by England and Russia, would shortly attack France. Determined to strengthen his own position as much as possible to meet the shock, the French emperor lost no time in dispatching General Sebastiani as ambassador to Constantinople, with instructions to do everything in his power to produce a rupture between the Turks and Russians, and thus effect a powerful diversion against the latter on the banks of the Danube, while he marched to meet them in Poland. Sebastiani, a native of Corsica, has been described as "a military officer of great experience, whose subtile and penetrating genius, formerly nourished in a cloister, and since matured by the experience of camps, was admirably adapted for the mingled acuteness and resolution required in the mission with which he was intrusted." His secret instructions were to endeavor to procure the dismissal of the Princes Ipsilanti and Morusi from the governments of Moldavia and Wallachia, who were merely agents of Russia, and place in their stead princes of the rival families of Suzzo and Callimachi who were known to favor a French alliance.

The French ambassador, attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, and amply provided with the means for sustaining the dignity of the great empire he represented, by a splendid manner of living, arrived at Con-

stantinople in August, 1806, and having been presented to Sultan Selim in the most imposing manner, lost no time in informing himself as to the conditions and, also, the enemies he would have to encounter. There could be no manner of doubt as to these last, but he also found in the Marquis d'Almenara, the Spanish ambassador, a strong friend and fearless supporter throughout the trying times and perils that followed. Selim was a progressive sovereign, and, taught by the disasters of the late war with Russia, had sought to introduce some of the European methods into his army and administration, thereby creating much discontent among the more fanatical elements of the people who regarded these foreign innovations as the first step in their national ruin. Russia encouraged these malcontents everywhere, and through its pliant tools, the waiwodes of Moldavia and Wallachia, had aroused a serious agitation against the Ottoman government, which, however, feeling bound not to remove them without the consent of Russia, knew not how to act, since it was well understood that this could not be had.

Sebastiani instantly saw his opportunity and availed himself of it with admirable skill. At a private conference with the Sultan in person, he succeeded in convincing him that the convention of 1802 with Russia applied only to the removal of the waiwodes for maladministration in their provinces, but could not extend to a case where it was called for by the general interests of the Empire: that the present was an instance of the latter description, from the notorious conspiracies of those two governors with the ancient enemies of the Ottoman faith: that by no construction could any treaty bind an independent power to permit its own subjects to

undermine and destroy it without taking measures to prevent it; in pursuance of these views a hattı-scheriff appeared on the 30th of August, 1806, dismissing the traitorous waiwodes, and appointing Princes Suzzo and Callimachi in their stead. This master-stroke, so suddenly delivered against his adversaries by the French ambassador was totally unlooked for by them, and was unknown to any other member of the diplomatic body. The promulgation produced a tremendous sensation, as it meant a renewal of the war between the Ottoman and Russian empires. The Russian ambassador, M. Italinski, angrily protested against the violation of the treaty of Jassy, and was powerfully seconded by Mr. Arbuthnot the British ambassador, who threatened an attack on Constantinople by the fleets of Great Britain and Russia.

Sebastiani, having just learned from Paris that Russia would support Prussia in the war with France, renewed his efforts and represented that the cause of France was now identified with that of his majesty the Sultan, demanded that the Bosphorus should instantly be closed to Russian warships and transports, and announced in his turn, that any continuation or renewal of alliance with England or Russia would be considered as a declaration of war against France. (Note of Sebastiani of September 16, 1806.) Sebastiani again won, and several days later a Russian brig which approached the mouth of the Bosphorus was denied admission. Thereupon, the Russian ambassador, violently irritated, embarked on board an English frigate in the harbor, and threatened to leave instantly if the waiwodes were not reinstated and the Bosphorus reopened. In these last demands he was strongly supported by the bold conduct of one Mr. W. Pole, an attaché of the British legation, who, in the

temporary absence of Mr. Arbuthnot, had the audacity to appear before the Divan in his riding-dress, with a whip in his hand, storm the astonished Turks to their beards, and haughtily announce that, "if the demands of Russia were not instantly acceded to, an enormous British fleet, already assembled at Gibraltar, would force the passage of the Dardanelles, and lay the capital in ashes." Intimidated by this bold threat, and aware of the weakness of their defences on that side, the counsellors of the Sultan advised a temporary submission, and the waiwodes were re-instated in their governments on the 15th of October. The Anglo-Russian game of bluff had won, as their ambassadors thought in their joy at this victory over their French antagonist, which appeared to have re-established all the allied influence; but, in a secret conference with Sebastiani, the Sultan assured him that he had only yielded to the storm till he was able to brave it, and that both his policy and wishes were strongly united with the Emperor Napoleon. Sebastiani, therefore, did not despair, but became more alert than ever for his next opportunity in the anticipated overthrow of Prussia, but the course taken by Russia itself speedily furnished a far better one. As soon as the news of the dismissal of the waiwodes reached St. Petersburg, orders were sent to General Michelson with his army of 50,000 men, already concentrated on the Pruth in Bessarabia, to cross the river Pruth and occupy Moldavia and Wallachia. Meantime the intelligence of the re-instatement of the waiwodes October 15th, arrived at St. Petersburg the first of November, thus removing all cause for hostilities, but, having once drawn the sword, the cabinet of St. Petersburg refused to withdraw its orders, and General Michelson crossed the Pruth November 23rd to



prosecute their schemes for the dismemberment of Turkey. The course of Russia in thus lighting up a new war on its southern frontier seems little short of infatuation, since the tidings of Prussia's crushing overthrow by the French emperor, at the double battle of Jena-Auerstaedt, had already reached St. Petersburg, and it was, therefore, known that Russia would have to bear the whole weight of the war in Poland.

The Russians thus continued to advance, driving the Turks before them, to the great confusion of M. Italinski, who had repeatedly assured the Sultan that as soon as it was known at St. Petersburg that the waiwodes had been re-instated, their march would be countermanded.

Sebastiani turned to the best account this now unjustifiable attack, and, aided by the consternation caused by the victories of Napoleon in Prussia, once more gained the ascendant, and induced the Sultan to dismiss his fears and declare war against Russia, December 30, 1806. The Sultan was obliged to station a strong guard around the palace of the Russian ambassador to protect him from the fury of the mob, while Mr. Arbuthnot strongly protested against his being imprisoned in the Seven Towers, according to the old-established Turkish custom of thus treating the representatives of other nations against which war was declared. The French ambassador had the generosity to use his great influence to the same end, and through their united efforts, M. Italinski was allowed to embark on the English frigate *Canopus*, by which he was quickly conveyed to Sicily, out of danger.

Thus, so far as his instructions with respect to Russia were concerned, complete victory had crowned Sebastiani's mission and both he and his imperial master had the satisfaction of knowing that 50,000 Russian troops,



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urgently needed in Poland, were, by this happy event, uselessly employed in Turkey. The Russian government now demanded that Great Britain should put in execution the threat of its ambassador to cause their fleet off Tenedos to force the passage of the Dardanelles, appear at Constantinople, compel the Sultan to make peace with Russia, and enter into an alliance with the two countries against France. This was the last throw of the allies in their desperate game, and it was made with results of such unusual interest that they will be recounted here in some detail.

No sooner was the British ambassador informed that the fleet was ready at the mouth of the Dardanelles, than he delivered the ultimatum of Great Britain on the 26th of January, 1807, which was, the instant dismissal of M. Sebastiani from the Ottoman Empire; the entrance of Turkey into the alliance of Great Britain and Russia against France, and the opening of both entrances into the sea of Marmora to Russian ships. These demands were peremptorily rejected by the Sultan, who informed the British ambassador that, "having made every sacrifice consistent with the safety and honor of an Empire which exists by the will of God only," he would take energetic means to defend it.

The French ambassador, who had already "taken the measure" of Mr. Arbuthnot, also quietly sent him the significant hint, "that the Berlin decree, recently received at Constantinople, *required* the immediate *arrest* of all British subjects in the territories of all the allies of France, and, *that Turkey was one of these allies!*" It was more than sufficient for the courage of this unworthy representative of a great and gallant nation to withstand: with visions of solitary confinement in the dreaded

Seven Towers before his eyes, he determined upon secret, ignominious flight from his post of duty, when war had not been declared! Several writers, and an interesting memoir by M. Driault, entitled, "The English Before Constantinople, . . . in 1807," give many curious details of this stage of the contest, and, it is related, that as a cloak to this flight, Mr. Arbuthnot gave a banquet that very night on board the frigate *Endymion*, which his government kept there at his service, not far from Seraglio Point, and invited the principal English merchants of the capital to attend. They did so, arrayed in full dress, and the affair was very brilliant—music, wine and toasts adding to the general enjoyment.

At mid-night, while all moved joyously, the *Endymion* secretly cut its anchor-chains, and profiting by the wind which blew sharply from the North, hurried towards the Strait of the Dardanelles to effect its escape into the Mediterranean Sea. The ambassador then announced to the guests that they would not return to the city, that the situation there was highly dangerous for them as well as himself, that relations had been broken off with the Sultan and so on. The astounded guests broke out into angry protests; they loudly complained that they were leaving their families, their riches unprotected, that they must put their affairs in order, and demanded to be put ashore. But it was in vain; the flight was continued with every sail set throughout the night, with the furious, helpless guests on board, who bitterly cursed and denounced the unheard-of conduct of Mr. Arbuthnot, in thus practically kidnapping them,—all declaring that they would a thousand times rather face any dangers in Constantinople than to be where they were. But their good

genius, the ambassador, was determined to save them, in spite of themselves—likewise himself!

The Turks at the Dardanelles allowed the English ship to pass, being ignorant of what had occurred at the capital, or that it bore the ambassador flying from his post, and it quickly joined the imposing fleet of Admiral Duckworth lying off the Isle of Tenedos.

From there Mr. Arbuthnot repeated his ultimatum to the Porte, and declared it responsible for the lives and goods of the English residents. At the same time he also wrote Baron de Hübsch, the Danish minister, committing to his charge the protection of their interests, and especially the goods of the British ambassador, *de sa vaisselle*, estimated at the most at six thousand louis d'or. He further recommended the women, all of whom had been left at Constantinople, and begged him to appeal to the French ambassador not to suffer the Porte to fail towards these ladies in the protection of civilized countries. General Sebastiani promptly took them all under his protection, and none of them suffered the slightest harm even in the perilous times which followed.

While Sebastiani honorably discharged this trust, he did not fail to turn to the best account this sudden occurrence in his favor, and the Porte formally declared war on Great Britain on the 29th of January, 1807. Success had thus far attended the efforts of the able Frenchman to a surprising degree: in less than six months from his arrival, he had reversed the attitude of the Ottoman Empire, from one of scarcely concealed hostility to his country, to one of warmest friendship and an open alliance with France; his adversaries, lately so proud and all-powerful at Constantinople, had successively been driven in flight out of the country, which had declared

open war upon both England and Russia, but England, refusing still to accept defeat, even then stood ready, with its mighty navy, to burst open the western gate of Constantinople, and accomplish by force what it had been unable to do by diplomacy. The storm was ready to burst, and the French ambassador was soon to encounter a greater peril than any he had yet surmounted or known, and the manner in which he did so will ever reflect the highest honor upon his name and country.

Mr. Arbuthnot, ashamed, perhaps, of his weakness, afterwards wrote several members of the diplomatic corps to explain his departure, asserting that his only object had been to place himself in a position where he could continue with safety the negotiations. None doubted his anxious desire for his personal safety, and this attempt to gloss over his desertion of his post and family, was received in a far different spirit than he had hoped.

Arbuthnot, having found on board a British battleship the requisite position of absolute safety for himself, did, in fact, try to open *pourparlers* with the capitán-pasha in command of the Turkish fleet at the mouth of the straits. On its side, the Ottoman government declared it could "enter into no formal negotiations with an ambassador who had quitted his post, and that he could send his explanations direct to London."

And in a circular to the foreign ministers, it complained strongly of the sudden departure of the British ambassador, nothing having been done against him, nor other English subjects which could compromise their safety. It then assured Baron de Hübsch it would protect his (Arbuthnot's) effects, and all the English subjects there, and in the Empire.

In fact, the dignity of the British ambassador did not emerge from this affair at all intact, and it certainly at once ended all his power to approach the Porte. The English historians have tried to excuse Arbuthnot's weakness, alleging he had been sick on several occasions and could not conduct the negotiations. But these negotiations which lasted all the month of February, had to be conducted by Admiral Sir Thomas Lewis, or, afterwards, by Admiral Duckworth, simply because the Ottoman government declined to treat Arbuthnot any longer as ambassador.

This unconcealed contempt of the Ottoman Government for himself by no means discouraged the enterprising Mr. Arbuthnot, who, thereupon, used as his intermediary, his dragoman, Pisani, thus establishing a sort of back-door communication with the Divan, which, of course, was quite willing, in that way, to hear all he had to say. On the 6th of February he wrote to Pisani more threats of what Duckworth's fleet would do, "that this was the *last summons*, to which the Porte must respond without the loss of an hour, etc." On the 8th he added more of the horrors that would befall the city if the fleet should come there, advised Pisani to make his wife leave Pera: that Admiral Sir Sidney Smith had now come to take command of the bomb-vessels, and then naïvely adds: "Just fancy! We have three admirals in this fleet! The Turks ought to see that we are *very serious*."

More threats followed, almost daily, and Pisani was told to remind the Turks of the horrors and destruction occasioned by the British fleet under Nelson at Copenhagen a few years before,—for a much less serious thing than the Turks were now doing!

At length, on the 19th of February, with the aid of a strong south wind, Admiral Duckworth boldly entered the Dardanelles with seven, instead of eight, battle-ships, the *Ajax* of 74 guns having been destroyed by fire, while at anchor off Tenedos, at this critical moment, two frigates and several bomb-vessels, taking the Turks so much by surprise that he passed the straits with no loss whatever from the ill-directed fire of the wretchedly manned forts; the Castles of Europe and Asia, indeed, still stood in frowning majesty at the narrowest part of the Strait, but their bastions were antiquated, their guns in part dismounted, and the rest little calculated to answer the rapidity and precision of the English broadsides. He then attacked and burned the vessel of the capitan-pasha lying there, while Sir Sidney Smith with his bomb-vessels burned five Turkish frigates; only one swift brig escaped the disaster, and had hardly time to announce the alarming news at the capital, when the entire British fleet, appearing in imposing array above the horizon of the Sea of Marmora, anchored off the Isles of Princes on the 21st of February, scarcely three leagues from Seraglio Point.

Duckworth and Arbuthnot announced, officially, the same day to the Sublime Porte, "their happy arrival at his capital, notwithstanding the terrible fire of the Turkish batteries," (the insulting irony and true British humor of which they, no doubt, enjoyed, whatever may have been the feeling of the Sublime Porte about it!)—offered, for the last time, to negotiate, and demanded an answer before the setting of the sun.

The conditions on which they would treat were the same as those of January 26th, "increased, nevertheless, by some new exigencies," among which were: dismiss M.

Sebastiani, surrender at once the Turkish fleet of fifteen ships-of-the-line, and fifteen frigates, with munitions and provisions for six months, open the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to the English fleet, renewal of the alliance with England and Russia, give satisfaction to Russia by ceding to it, till a general peace, the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and all the fortified places with the stores therein on both banks of the Danube, etc., etc.

Commenting upon which outrageous demands, a Polish count, member of one of the legations at Constantinople, wrote: "Possibly these brigands may allow the rest of the inhabitants of the earth to stay on it!"

The "painful alternative" of the British ultimatum was "the immediate bombardment and destruction of the capital of the Ottoman Empire."

A wild panic overwhelmed Constantinople, and feeling their utter helplessness to resist, as hardly a gun was mounted on the sea-batteries in front of the city, the people suddenly became blindly enraged: a furious crowd filled the streets, demanding the heads of the grand-vizier and General Sebastiani, as the authors of all the dangers and calamities that were upon them. The hundreds of women in the Imperial Seraglio, most exposed of all to the fire of the English fleet, caught the contagion of terror and disturbed the Palace and neighbouring quarter by their shrieks and piercing lamentations, under the dread of bombardment at any moment. The utmost consternation spread to everyone, and the Divan having been hastily assembled, sent a message to Sebastiani that "no defence remained to the capital: that submission was now a matter of necessity; and that, as the people regarded him as the author of all their misfortunes, his



life was in the utmost danger, and he would do well instantly to fly from the city."

Mr. Arbuthnot could not doubt but that as "blood and fire" had made the English masters at Copenhagen in 1801, so would they now at Constantinople, which lay unarmed and helpless under the guns of another British fleet.

There could be no question *now*, as to who had won in the great game of diplomacy he had been playing, with such untoward results hitherto. The odds were too great! He could not lose! The power of a mighty fleet, and the terrors of the 900,000 inhabitants of a great city, menaced with destruction, and now furiously clamoring for the head of his antagonist, were the odds on his side! *They were to be met only by the cool courage and consummate ability of one man on the other.* Possibly greater odds may have been faced, but history does not recount them. But strange, indeed, are the vicissitudes in human affairs!

Being informed of the coming of the messengers of the Sultan, the French ambassador received them in full uniform, surrounded by his splendid staff. The message having been announced, he delivered this noble reply:

"My personal danger cannot for an instant occupy my attention, when the maintenance of the French alliance and the independence of the Ottoman Empire are at stake. I will not quit Constantinople, and I confidently expect a new decision more worthy of Sultan Selim and the Turkish nation. Tell your powerful monarch that he should not for a moment think of descending from the high rank where the glorious deeds of his ancestors have placed him, by surrendering to a few English ves-

sels a city containing nine hundred thousand souls, and abundantly provided with magazines and ammunition. Your ramparts are not yet armed, but that may soon be done; you have weapons enough; use them but with courage and victory is secure. The cannon of the English fleet may set fire to part of the town—granted; but without the assistance of a land army it could not take possession of the capital, even if you were to open your gates. You sustain every year the ravages of accidental conflagration and the more serious calamities of the plague, and do you now scruple at incurring the risk of inferior losses in defence of your capital, your country, your holy religion?" \*

These heroic sentiments struck deeply the chords of honor and patriotism in the Osmanli heart, and they resolved to perish rather than surrender. Sebastiani was instantly summoned before the Divan which informed him of their determination and asked him what should be done: he advised that they should try, by gaining time in parleying, to arm as many batteries as possible, and, being intrusted by the Turks with this delicate business, dictated the note in answer to the admiral's communication, in which the Sultan professed an anxious wish to renew his former friendly relations with Great Britain, and announced the appointment of Isaac Bey to conduct the negotiations. At the same time M. Sebastiani instructed the latter to carefully note what manner of man they had to deal with in the commander of the British fleet.

The next morning the British ultimatum was sent

\*NOTE.—Sir Stratford Canning, in after years British ambassador at Constantinople, has related that a tradition prevailed in the East that Sebastiani was at first disposed to submit, and that it was the Spanish ambassador's remonstrances which awakened him to the splendid conduct which has shed such lustre around his name.

ashore: half an hour only after its translation, was allowed the Divan for deliberation and reply, but once more the art of Sebastiani secured further delay, for an extended reply by the Sultan.

This long-bearded old Turk, Isaac Bey, whose very name suggests an ancestry far superior in cunning and alertness to any of Turkish origin, was, in fact, a full match, in all the tricks of short-arm diplomacy, for any diplomat at Stamboul.

He had promptly presented himself, with his credentials, as instructed by M. Sebastiani, on board the flagship of Vice-Admiral Duckworth, and, in the most formal, leisurely manner, had opened the proposed negotiations with the Vice-Admiral himself, but, all the while, observing and gauging the latter with all the powers of his keen intelligence. Upon his return to the city Isaac Bey reported to M. Sebastiani, that Mr. Arbuthnot, the British ambassador (with whom both were already well acquainted) was on board the flagship, but, for the time, too ill, fortunately, to take any part in the negotiations, which would, in consequence, be entirely conducted by Admiral Duckworth.

Isaac Bey also stated, that the English admiral was a proud, dictatorial person, of no great intelligence, apparently, but wished to appear familiar with diplomatic formalities and usages, while he was evidently not at all so, and, hence, he would suggest to M. Sebastiani that they should endeavour to take whatever advantage they might of his punctilious ignorance and pretensions, to prolong the negotiations and thus gain time to arm the defences of the city to resist the English demands.

Accordingly, these two masters of diplomatic subterfuge conceived the design of assuming the offensive, so

to speak, in these negotiations, with the view of throwing this irascible old sea-fighter and upright English gentleman, clear off his feet, by an attack from the quarter he would least expect it. And, in replying to his note, instead of discussing the *ultimatum* he had just sent, proceeded to make the cutting intimation, that "the Sublime Porte *doubted the good-faith* of the negotiations which Vice-Admiral Duckworth and Mr. Arbuthnot had begun," etc., etc., thus shaking the traditional "red rag at the bull," and producing even more than the usual absurd demonstrations of fury, upon the part of the bull, in return!

A blow between the eyes would not have surprised or infuriated the Vice-Admiral more than this insolent, gratuitous reflection upon his honour. He raged up and down his cabin, swearing "he would soon teach those — Turks what it was to insult a British admiral, under his very guns! Curse their impudence!" However, he would not rest under such an infernal calumny, which should instantly be cleared up, and himself set right—this was certain!

As soon as he could sufficiently command his feelings, and language, to admit of a reply, in anything resembling the style of an official correspondence, the Vice-Admiral despatched a haughty rejoinder, dated February 23rd, 1807, on board H. M. S. Windsor Castle, to the Turkish note, observing among other things, that, " . . . !! I confess that its contents are of a nature to offend me! To tell a minister of England, and a British officer, that the negotiation commenced, was a mere trick to gain time, are expressions that we are not in the habit of hearing, and which we had no right to expect considering our national character!"

Naturally, it required the exchange of several notes, consuming a couple of days to clearly demonstrate his good-faith to those stupid Turks, on his part, and, on theirs, to smooth away the asperities their wholly unexpected, unjustifiable insinuations had caused, before the incensed Admiral could prosecute the business which had brought his fleet to Constantinople.

Noting the immensity of the preparations the Turks were making to defend the city, the Admiral, in his turn, now became suspicious of the good-faith of the Sublime Porte, as he revealed in another impatient note, declaring, peremptorily, that, "The Vice-Admiral *insists* on being informed whether it is intended *bona fide* to negotiate, or to *impose* upon him! In the last supposition, he informs the Sublime Porte that such a plan will *not* succeed!"

But, alas! It *had* succeeded, and only too well. The unsuspecting simplicity of the British Vice-Admiral had been over-matched by the cunning of Judea and Corsica (for Sebastiani was a Corsican) and the fate of his bold enterprise was already sealed in the ridiculous discussions over his "good-faith!" Whatever might have been thought of the atrocious bombardment with which he was preparing to overwhelm Constantinople, no one must "doubt the good-faith" of the proceedings at all events!

Most fortunately for the Turks, as well as M. Sebastiani, a considerable number of artillery and engineer officers, ordered by Napoleon from Marshal Marmont's army in Dalmatia, to report to Sebastiani to aid in the fortification of the Straits against the attacks of the Russians, had arrived in Constantinople the very next day after the English fleet appeared. Moving in groups

about the streets of the city, in uniform and fully armed, the resolute but friendly air of these French officers had a marked effect upon the populace, and especially upon the proud, disorderly bands of janizaries, who had combatted wearers of the same uniforms not long before at Acre, Mt. Thabor, Heliopolis and Aboukir, and loved nothing so much as military courage. The people gazed in impotent, sullen rage at the British fleet, and welcomed any means to combat those haughty enemies. All understood that the French officers were come as friends, ready to aid in defending their city against impending destruction. The hearts of the brave, simple-minded Turks, recognizing their intellectual superiority, warmed to these foreigners, and the strongest demonstrations of friendship and affection instantly met them on every hand, while the revulsion of public sentiment towards the ambassador himself was as sudden as complete. Meantime Sebastiani had many conferences with the Sultan and the Divan to organize the defences, and dictate the notes to the British admiral to protract the negotiations as long as possible, and actually persuaded him that the Sultan was sincerely desirous of an accommodation.

The energy shown produced the most amazing results. "The number of guns mounted on the batteries in six days was 917 pieces of cannon and 200 mortars: an instance of vigor and rapidity in preparing the means of defence perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world." (Hard. XI. 486.) Driault says: "All aided from the Sultan down. Selim walks about in the crowds, smiling, distributing money, talks with the engineers, with Sebastiani, and measures the dimensions of the batteries—persuades himself that he is in every way worthy of his

illustrious friend the Emperor Napoleon, and testifies loudly and publicly his esteem for the French."

Sir Archibald Alison gives the following eloquent, graphic picture of this stage of the negotiations and the preparations for defence:

"Day after day elapsed in the mere exchange of notes and diplomatic communications; and meanwhile the spirit of the Mussulmans, now roused to the highest pitch, was indefatigably employed in organizing the means of defence. The direction of the whole was intrusted to General Sebastiani, for whom a magnificent tent was erected in the gardens of the Seraglio, and who communicated to the ardent multitude the organization and arrangement which long warlike experience had given to the officers of Napoleon. Men and women, gray hairs and infant hands, the Turks, the Greeks, the Armenians, were to be seen promiscuously laboring together at the fortifications. Forgetting, in the general transports, the time-worn lines of religious distinction, the Greek and Armenian patriarchs set the first example of a cordial acquiescence in the orders of government: Selim himself repeatedly visited the works: his commands were obeyed by two hundred thousand men. animated by religious and patriotic ardor to the highest degree; while the French engineers who had been sent by Marmont to aid in the war with the Russians, communicated to the busy multitude the inestimable advantages of scientific direction and experienced skill.

"Under such auspices, the defences of the harbor were speedily armed and strengthened: the naval arsenal furnished inexhaustible resources; in three days, three hundred pieces of cannon were mounted on the batteries; at the end of a week their number was increased to a

thousand; temporary parapets were everywhere formed with gabions and fascines, where regular defences were wanting; the tower of Leander was armed with heavy artillery; a hundred gunboats were drawn across the mouth of the Golden Horn; twelve line-of-battle ships within stood apparently ready for action; fire-ships were prepared, and numerous furnaces with redhot shot, kept constantly heated, to carry into the British fleet the conflagration with which they menaced the Turkish capital."

The English officers had soon discovered, by means of their telescopes, the efforts being made to arm the defences on shore, and, it naturally suggests the inquiry why the fleet did not attack.

In the first place, the English themselves were deceived: it did not seem possible to do the impossible within three days, by placing 300 pieces of heavy artillery in readiness for action, with furnaces for providing redhot shot to rain upon the fleet whenever it came within range. Feeling perfectly secure of their prey they felt no concern about the erection of a few Turkish batteries, whose fire would probably do as little harm as the absurd forts they had passed on the way thither. Indeed, it was rather felt that if it *should* become necessary to bombard the place, it could be done with a better grace if the Turks would merely repeat their recent performance in the Dardanelles! Nobody would treat Turkish batteries seriously, and so during those three first days, all was joy on board the fleet, while Duckworth and Arbuthnot, with a sort of grim feline pleasure, not unwillingly prolonged the sufferings of the supposed mouse they were playing with. Just one grip of their mighty claws, and the thing would be over with anyway! Why be in any



haste about it? Yet, how quickly would it not have been given, had they known that, not ignorant Turkish bimbashis, but, above three score of the finest artillery and engineer officers in the French army were there to give skilled, scientific direction to the ardent multitudes whose strenuous labors ceased not day or night, and who would also direct the fire of those vast batteries, with deadly accuracy!

Early on the fourth day all this stunning intelligence fell like a thunderbolt. It was instantly recognized that any attack by the fleet could not only not succeed against such odds, but must be eminently hazardous to it. Retreat was the only course but could not be effected: the wind which had brought them to Constantinople continued fixed from the southwest, and thus rendered it totally impossible to repass the Dardanelles. The fleet indeed moved somewhat nearer the city, and the utmost efforts were made to induce the Turks to come to terms, but to no purpose, for they had now determined the British fleet should not leave the Sea of Marmora, and a number of French officers had already hurried to the Dardanelles to put the forts there in condition to destroy it when it came back to force its way out into the Mediterranean. The British had become aroused to a full sense of their danger, which grew with every hour, both in their front and at the Straits, and would gladly have made their escape.

They dared not attack the city now, but the same wind which kept them from sailing west, also prevented the Turkish fire-ships from approaching to attack them. The only question now was, how much longer it would be before the Straits could not be forced. At last, on the first of March, a favorable wind sprang up from the

Black Sea, and, without taking time even to announce their "happy departure" from his capital to the Sublime Porte, Admiral Duckworth prepared to sail, in the utmost haste, to encounter the growing perils of the Dardanelles. And Mr. Arbuthnot, for the second time in about two months, was making another very swift passage to that fateful channel! Weighing anchor on the 2nd of March, the fleet appeared in order of battle, stood in nearly to within cannon-shot of the frightful array of batteries which were now fully prepared to overwhelm it, and perceiving that the Turks waited in grim silence for battle, it suddenly turned to the west and sailed towards the Straits. If anxiety and mortification reigned on board the English fleet, unbounded were the demonstrations of joy which burst forth in the city, at the sight of the hostile ships disappearing over the horizon of the Sea of Marmora, while French and Turks congratulated one another on this glorious result of the energy and courage they had mutually displayed under the most trying circumstances.

Fortunately for the British fleet, the Turks and the French engineers had had too little time and means at their command to do much more than begin the preparations for its reception, but, even as it was, two of its battle-ships, the *Windsor Castle* and the *Standard*, were nearly destroyed by huge marble cannon-balls, weighing 700 or 800 pounds, and several hundred men were killed and wounded, besides much other damage done before it effected its escape.

At Tenedos it was reinforced by other English ships, and joined by the Russian fleet of nine ships-of-the-line, under Admiral Siniavin, but the combined fleet would not venture again into the perilous Straits, which the French

engineers soon rendered safe from all attack, although the entrance was closely blockaded by the English.

With this episode the long contest at Constantinople by Great Britain and Russia against France ended. General Sebastiani remained the undisputed victor, and deservedly received every mark of gratitude and distinction which the grateful Sultan and his people could bestow, and was richly rewarded and promoted to high honors by his own sovereign, to whom and to France he had rendered services of such signal importance, at a time when they were most called for by the Empire.

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## THE ASSEMBLY OF THE GREAT SAN- HEDRIM AT PARIS IN 1807

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No event, perhaps, in the history of the Jewish Race, since the memorable siege and destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70, C. E., by the Roman army under Titus, has been of greater interest or attended with more important consequences to that people, than the meeting of the Great Sanhedrim, the Superior Court or Council of the Jewish people, convoked, under the orders and special protection of the Emperor Napoleon, at Paris in the year 1807—after an interval of more than seventeen hundred years since its last sitting in the Sacred City, in the year it was taken and destroyed in revenge for the defeats and humiliations of the Romans in a siege, in which the heroism and devotion shown by the Jews can scarcely find a parallel.

In this Paper it is intended to present facts and observations and to draw conclusions, not from the Orthodox Jewish standpoint, but from that of a member of an alien and none too friendly race, whose ideas, or rather prejudices, let it be said, concerning that people, have been much changed in the effort to acquire a juster, fuller knowledge and understanding of its strange ideals and tragic history. Candour, also, compels the admission that the interest of the writer in the subject of their great assembly at Paris, was, at the outset, almost wholly academical, and by no means inspired with any purpose to utter panegyrics upon the martial qualities of the

Jewish race, or, indeed, to do more than present the mere history of the proceedings there—an event in itself, however, sufficiently interesting.

But something more is required than such a recital to set forth fairly their nobler qualities as devotees to their religious beliefs, as patriots, as warriors, and hence this narrative will turn back into the Past, when their nation, besides its faith, still possessed a Sacred Shrine, a capital, and a country to die for, if it could not defend against overwhelming numbers.

So intense and merciless has been the desire of Christian fanaticism to see unceasing vengeance inflicted upon the whole Jewish race, in all the ages which have since elapsed, because of a crucifixion, for which it was surely not responsible, that it yet dwells, though in lessening degree in these later times, with evident satisfaction upon the alleged strange destiny which—under the divine anathema and in fulfillment of certain prophecies—had condemned that unfortunate people to wander over the face of the earth as scattered, homeless outcasts. The dangers of the location of Jerusalem itself, and the actual conditions faced by the Jews throughout their occupancy of Palestine are either ignored, or else treated as having little or nothing to do with their long record of national calamities, which are all ascribed solely to supernatural vengeance.

But—quite apart from all prophecies by angry prophets of ruin and punishment to be visited upon the Jewish kingdom, sometimes because of the transgressions of its people, at others because of the wickedness of its rulers—its weakness and its perilous situation, directly in the pathway between warring Egypt, on the one hand, and Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, on the other, would,

apparently, sufficiently explain its repeated subjugations, not only at the hands of those great powers, but at those of Alexander and of Rome as well, when they advanced to conquer the world.

Any other fate than that which actually befell it could hardly have been anticipated, or avoided, by a small, weak State so unfortunately located, and was, in truth, much the same as that which the small neighbouring nations around it likewise underwent in the repeated collisions of those mightiest powers of antiquity upon and across their territories; and, in the cases of the latter, at all events, with no help from an angry, jealous deity to bring punishment and destruction upon them as transgressors of his special commands to them as his chosen peoples, nor constant, woeful prophetic denunciations to mark and foretell it, as in the case of unhappy Israel, whose righteous prophets never ceased to afflict it with their dismal lamentations.

A not unnatural or unreasonable view is entertained that "caught between the upper and the nether millstones," Israel and its small neighbours were ground to powder, and all alike perished, the victims of their exposed geographical situations and weakness as military powers, rather than from any other special cause.

In those times, the "Great Powers" showed even less regard than they do to-day for the rights of small states, which would gladly have remained neutral in their wars had they been permitted to do so. And an unfortunate alliance with the losing power necessarily entailed upon its small allies all the woes and punishments of defeat—unspeakably more destructive and cruel than the severest penalties that would be exacted in these more humane, enlightened ages.

But it is here that the likeness in the fates of Israel and its small neighbours ends; nay more, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, the Empire of Alexander the Great, and of Rome itself, their successive conquerors and oppressors, have each in turn perished and disappeared, like their small allied heathen states, or else left behind only degenerate descendants,—but, not so with this astonishing race of Hebrews, whose fixed, deathless belief in one **RIGHTEOUS GOD** and **HIS WORD**, caused them not only to recognize, in their own disasters, world-wide dispersal and sufferings, one of the convincing proofs of the divine origin of their faith, but has formed the inspiration for their tenacious, remarkable adherence to the requirements of those unique religious ordinances, in the strict observance of which they have found the preservation of the Jewish race, and that, too, under conditions which would have insured the utter extinction of any other people.

There may or may not exist a “Jewish Question” in America and the more highly civilized parts of Europe, in such concrete form as is asserted by eminent Jews, on the one hand, and denied by others, equally prominent, on the other. But there is no doubt that that race is still made to feel a certain degree of social ostracism in every country, which is keenly felt in many ways, while persecution is still heavy in others.

But ostracism, as their own history shows, was never more practiced against the Jews than by themselves against all others without the pale of their religion. Indeed, a strict observance of their religious and political ordinances left them no other alternative than that of a

rigid aloofness towards all foreigners. So long as they inhabited a country of their own this could be practiced without incurring the dangers and difficulties which afterwards beset them, when scattered among other nations, which resented their unsocial attitude and persecuted them because of it, and perhaps, too, because of their superior morality over their profligate neighbours, for we shall see that Cæsar himself expressly recognized this last by according privileges to them, at Rome, which were denied to the Bacchanalial Romans themselves, *within* the limits of that city.

During more than 1,700 years, fettered and isolated as much by their obsolete political statutes as by their religious beliefs, this strange people, with an imperishable fidelity and constancy, which at times seemed beyond human strength, clung to the very letter of their laws. Not until another conqueror and ruler, even greater and more enlightened than Cæsar—the Emperor Napoleon—dominated Europe, was it ever permitted, or, indeed, possible for the Great Sanhedrim to assemble, in order to adopt some measure of relief, by abolishing or modifying some of the requirements of their political statutes, which long and bitter experience had shown could not be adhered to, among alien nations, without disastrous results; for only the Great Sanhedrim possessed the power and authority to make such a change.

Their misfortunes, as well as the fidelity and gratitude always shown by the Jews for justice and friendly treatment shown them, appealed to the sympathy and regard of Napoleon, as they had to Alexander and to Cæsar, and upon their petition he invited them to assemble at Paris, under his own special protection, receiving and



treating the venerable doctors and rabbins with much honour.

No people can show a higher claim to distinction *socially* than this ancient race, which still flourishes in surprising intellectual and moral power, even though small in numbers—fortunately for the rest of the world!—while so many of its far greater contemporaries in the past have perished, leaving only a name. Quite apart from the grandeur of its place in the religious life of the world, which need not be discussed here, there is no other people in existence which can point to the supreme distinction of having been, in turn, *honoured, esteemed, and treated as friends*, by Alexander the Great, Cæsar, and Napoleon!

The recorded history of their close relations with the greatest of the human race does them honour to-day, and will be attested in the recital here of notable events, and several official decrees by Cæsar and the Roman Senate, to show how they were regarded and treated, not merely politically, but also in the official *social* life of Rome.

It is within living memory that the rising young Jewish member of Parliament, afterwards the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Disraeli, put to shame and confusion certain pretentious British members, who, meaning to humiliate and ostracise him, had spoken sneeringly of his Jewish descent—by proudly reminding them, in tones none who heard him ever forgot, that “*His* ancestors were kings and princes in Israel, more than 2,000 years before, while their own, still dressed in skins and bearing clubs, were feeding on the acorns and swine found in the woods of their native wilds!”

JEWS HONOURED BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Before Alexander invaded Asia, the Jewish high-priest, Jaddua, had already a treaty of amity with Darius, King of Persia, and faithfully adhered to it even after the great defeat of the Persian king at Issus. The following interesting account of the courageous high-priest's refusal to aid Alexander in any manner, is given in the Antiquities of the Jews:

"So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high-priest, to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he had formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing; but the high-priest answered the messengers, that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living.

"Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry; and . . . he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high-priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, he came to the city of Gaza and besieged it. . . . Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua the high-priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians."

It is further related that he was warned in a dream, after he had offered sacrifice, to take courage, adorn

the city and open the gates; that the people should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet Alexander in the habits proper to their order. Revealing this dream to all, according to which he acted entirely, he went out in venerable procession, with the priests and the multitude of citizens to await the king, to a spot called Sapha (meaning a *prospect*), for you had thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the Temple. The relation then proceeds:

“Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high-priest. The Jews also did altogether, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about; whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went to him, and asked him how it came to pass, that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high-priest of the Jews?

“To whom he replied, ‘I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with his high-priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is, that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remember-

ing that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind.'

"And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high-priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city; and when he went up into the Temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high-priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high-priest and the priests. And when the book of Daniel was showed him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended; and as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high-priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired; and when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired."

#### HONOURS TO JEWS BY CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR

Cæsar, as will appear by the following recitals from only a few of the many decrees he made in favour of the Jewish people, entertained the highest regard and respect for them:

"Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and high-priest and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and

people of Sidon, sendeth greetings. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree registered in the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows:—I, Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and high-priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the Senate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have been witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war, with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army;—for these reasons, I will that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high-priesthood of the Jews forever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his son be our confederates; and that besides this every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. . . . And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them.”

And among all the marks of Cæsar’s friendship, none so deeply appealed to the Jews as the following:

“Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed. That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews retain it, in the manner he himself pleases; and that

the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let (in the Sabbatic period) a corus of that tribute; and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm."

"Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city of Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the Sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land. It is also our pleasure that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them as it formerly did. . . .

"It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his son, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, *they shall sit among the senators to see those shows*; and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the Senate by the Dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the Senate is made about their affairs."

One further decree of Cæsar's, who never ceased to honour and distinguish the Jews everywhere:

"Julius Cæsar, consul of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that, by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship.

“Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Cæsar, our emperor and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, *and these only*, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the laws and customs of their forefathers, and to persist therein.

“It will be therefore good for you that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us.”

An ominous hint, which, it may easily be supposed, the magistrates, senate and people of the Parians did not require to be repeated, in order to hasten the “abrogation” of their offensive decrees!

#### WARLIKE QUALITIES OF THE JEWS

Among the many forms of opprobrium heaped upon the Jew by aliens he had come to live among, was the charge of physical cowardice, because he sought (in obedience to his own divine ordinances) to evade military service, and that, even when compelled to serve in foreign armies, he would not fight. By what course of reasoning it might have been supposed he *would* feel under any obligation to sacrifice, or even to imperil, his life in the

service of his cruel oppressors, it is hard to imagine, especially, also, when he knew he could only serve in the humble ranks of the private, without hope of reward or promotion.

It was only in modern times that the French Revolution offered him the first opportunity he had ever had—which a proud, brave man *could* embrace—by opening the ranks of the phalanxes of Liberty to all men upon the same terms. Throughout the wars of the Revolution, and, particularly of the Empire, the Jew was to be found fighting, with a fidelity and courage second to none in the sacred cause of human rights.

Jewish officers rose to distinguished rank in the French armies, among them, Marshal Massena, Duke of Rivoli, Prince of Essling, regarded still as the greatest commander of all the great military chiefs of the Emperor. So early even as the days of the celebrated campaigns of 1796 in Italy, the young Corsican General-in-Chief, Bonaparte, in his admiration for the splendid deeds and cool daring of the young Jew, Massena,—then only a major-general commanding a division of infantry,—wrote to him, declaring that “he alone was worth 6,000 men to him!” And in what estimation he must have held his great talents thereafter, will appear in the high honours and distinctions heaped upon him for victories won by him, at the head of armies as great as those the Emperor himself usually commanded.

#### THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM BY THE ROMANS

To understand to what heights human valour and constancy may attain, one need only turn to the final struggle between Rome, the mightiest power of antiquity,



and the small Hebrew nation, without an army, surrounded on all sides by the territories of Rome, or its allies!

The limits of this Paper do not admit of more than a brief reference to this war—the greatest, and, not unworthy to be *the last*, Israel was ever to wage. Waged, too, by Rome, for no cause of offense by the Jews, but simply to extend the boundaries of the Empire over this last unsubdued little corner of Asia, touching upon the Mediterranean Sea; while the Jews, already tributaries of Rome, now fought to preserve the last shreds of a national existence, as well as to spare the Temple of God the profanation of having a statue of the tyrannical Emperor Caius set up in their Holiest Place, as, out of mere wantonness, he had ordered should be done.

To the pious and faithful, death, and a manifestly hopeless war, were far preferable to submission to a sacrilege so monstrous, in a place where the God, to whom it was dedicated, had forbidden them to place an image intended even to represent himself. Desperate though the odds were, this most unequal contest taxed the military power of Rome for nearly four years to bring to a successful conclusion. Jerusalem, the strongest fortress of all, was left unassailed, after a first unsuccessful attempt to subdue it, by Cestius, until the rest of the country had been conquered and occupied, after no less than three bloody campaigns, by the great army commanded by Vespasian.

Vespasian having at this time been acclaimed Emperor by all the legions in the East, departed for Rome to take possession of his throne, leaving his son, Titus, to complete the subjugation of Judea, by besieging and



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taking Jerusalem itself, for which numerous engines of war and other preparations had already been made. To this end, Titus received the command of one of the most perfectly armed, equipped and disciplined armies of veteran troops the Romans ever sent into the field. It consisted of over 60,000 men, besides a large auxiliary force of Asiatic troops, supplied with a large siege-train of battering rams and powerful catapults, an arm of the service, at that time, corresponding to modern siege artillery, in the varied uses of which they had, by long experience, attained to the highest degree of efficiency. Having its base of supplies and operations in the strongly fortified seaport of Joppa, only about thirty miles distant from Jerusalem, it could be constantly reinforced and receive its supplies with ease and security, for the Jews were totally destitute of cavalry, or any other force outside of Jerusalem, with which to attack this line of communication.

The infantry of Titus was especially notable, and included in its seven splendid, fully armoured legions, as contemporary history relates, "the three most eminent legions of the Roman armies—the 5th, the 10th and the 15th legions." These veteran legionaries, justly proud of the conquest of most of the known world, felt supreme confidence in their own valour and incomparable discipline, against which so many barbarian hosts had fought in vain, and, not unnaturally, they had conceived the utmost contempt for the nearly undisciplined hordes of Jewish fanatics at Jerusalem, who did not understand, and had never even taken the trouble to learn how to use, the engines of war, which had been taken by them from Cestius in his disastrous retreat from the attempted siege of that city four years before.

Incredible as it may seem, the Jews, so far from preparing any means of resistance to the approaching peril, had been for many months and were, even up to the very hour of the appearance of the Romans to invest the city, engaged in bloody strife, by the three great factions within the city, whose only object appeared to be mutual extermination, in the course of which, it is estimated, above 40,000 persons perished! Only when they saw the apparently endless columns of the Roman army, with their huge warlike engines, taking up and fortifying their positions around the walls, and preparing to destroy them, did these terrible fanatics come to their senses, and resolve to fight the common enemy.

"What do we here," cried they, "and what do we mean, while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage? We are it seems," so did they cry out, "only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our sedition!"

With such men, action followed close upon the heels of their resolve. As it chanced, this first attack upon the Romans was directed against the 10th legion—Cæsar's famed Tenth Legion!—the only body of troops mentioned in history, whose reputation, for courage and discipline, might be compared to that of the Old Guard of Napoleon! And yet, this, "the most eminent," of *all* the legions of Rome, was, on this same day, *twice put to the route*, by the native courage of those disorderly bands of light-armed zealots in desperate hand-to-hand fighting, and only saved, with difficulty, from destruc-

tion, after the loss of a great part of its numbers, by prompt aid from the other legions near at hand. Some account of these terrible combats, showing their mode of fighting, will be of interest. Somewhat abridged in details, this magnificent achievement of Jewish courage, is thus related in the Wars of the Jews (referring to what they declared above) :

“Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. . . . So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain, before they could turn back upon the enemy. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fighting skillfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; but as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought back those that were running away, and fell himself upon the

Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over-against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the remains of the 10th legion to the upper part of the Mount of Olives, to fortify their camp.

"This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman, who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence that none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but as if they had been cast out of an engine, they break the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain. . . . In the meantime, a disorder and terror fell upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away, in so much that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus himself was put to flight; because they took it for granted that, if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it, till some of them saw their general in the very midst of battle,

and, being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion; and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another that they did worse than run away, by deserting Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them in heaps into the bottom of the valley.

"Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but now because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing farther mischief; insomuch that Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy."

#### JEWISH STRATEGY

Soon after this time the Jews contrived, by a cunning stratagem, to induce a large number of Roman soldiers to believe they could, by a sudden rush, seize and enter one of the principal gates; catching up their arms, without orders, the soldiers ran forward, whereupon the Jews who had pretended to be expelled from the city, also retired swiftly as though to enter and open this gate to them; but as soon as the Romans were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the gate suddenly closed, the Jews ran out, surrounded, and fell upon them from the rear as well, while those lining the walls joined in the attack. Ashamed of the mistake they had been led into, and dreading the anger of their commanders,

the legionaries persevered and fought with their spears a great while; but, at last, after a desperate encounter, they were obliged to cut their way back to their own lines, leaving a great part of their number slain, while the victors pursued them, throwing javelins, darts and spears among them, and thus disabling or killing many others, as far as the monuments of Queen Helena.

"After this," writes Flavius Josephus, "these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans, for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers. 'Truly,' said Titus, 'the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father also himself, when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us. . . . Those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they who conquer among the Romans without orders for fighting, are to be under disgrace,' . . . and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for this stratagem."

In nowise discouraged by what had happened, but quickly repairing the losses of its first surprises and unexpected defeats, by an enemy believed, till then, to be incapable of beating it in open combat, the Roman army simply tightened its hold upon the doomed city, and brought into play against its defences all the destructive power of its great battering train and catapults, aided by lofty towers, erected close up to the walls, despite all efforts to destroy them, where each breach, as fast as made, became the scene of desperate assault.

Despite Roman valour and discipline, the heroic defenders rarely failed to repulse these attacks, and when the outer of the triple lines of the walls at last was taken, they defended the second wall as strongly as the first.

It is not possible to dwell here upon the mingled horrors and sublimity of the events within and without the walls of Jerusalem during the prolonged siege which followed upon the events that have been related. Had its defenders continued united, Jerusalem might have withstood this siege successfully, and, perhaps, have secured such terms of peace (for there were limits to the losses even Rome would suffer) as would, at least, have preserved the life of the nation, its own institutions, and its Holy Temple and capital from destruction. But the internal dissensions and seditions—so fatal to all—again burst forth with inextinguishable hatred and fury among the rival factions, who even went to the length of burning parts of the city to leave a space wherein they might fight with each other *within* the walls, while fighting with the Romans without them! Under the circumstances, their course invited the certain capture and destruction of the city, and was simply national suicide. Of this the same impartial historian says: “But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out, and did everything that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered anything that was worse from the Romans than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city after these men’s actions that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it



was overthrown, while those that took it did a greater kindness; for I venture to affirm that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans."

It is not intended to attempt here any description of the horrors of the final catastrophe at Jerusalem, resulting in the utter destruction of the Temple and the city, or to dwell upon the terrible fate of its inhabitants and defenders, most of whom perished during the siege, leaving only a remnant as captives in the hands of the Romans, who were themselves fought to a stand-still by the immense losses and fatigues they had sustained in the long, desperately fought siege.

Though so brief, this reference to recorded history shows, that, in patriotism and native fighting qualities, the Jewish race stands second to none. And that in the double defeat inflicted, by its undisciplined zealots, upon the most celebrated body of troops in ancient times at Jerusalem, they fairly rival the honour won by British valour in the final defeat of the Old Guard at Waterloo.

The assembling of the Great Sanhedrim at Paris by the Emperor Napoleon will now be described.

#### OF THE SUPPOSED ORIGIN OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE GREAT SANHEDRIM

In the Antiquities of the Jews, and certain notes, it is referred to and described as follows:

"The superior court or council of the Jewish nation. Tradition says that it was instituted in the time of

Moses, and consisted of seventy-one members, viz.: the seventy elders appointed by God (Numbers XI. 24-25) with the lawgiver, Moses, himself as president; but the fact of its Greek derivation renders it highly probable that it did not arise till after the Græco-Macedonian period. It is never alluded to in the Old Testament, unless it be in II. Chronicles, XIX., v. 8. 'Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehosaphat set of the Levites and of the priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies when they returned to Jerusalem,' and in Numbers, XI. v. 24-25: 'And Moses went out, and told the people the words of the Lord, and gathered the seventy men of the elders of the people, and them round about the tabernacle.' 'And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders.' . . .

"The Sanhedrim may have developed from and succeeded the Great Synagogue. The tradition is that it had seventy-one members. If so, the number was probably fixed to put it in harmony with the Court of Moses and the seventy, and if the number of the 70 disciples sent out by Jesus was fixed to constitute with him 71 in imitation of the Sanhedrim, this would confirm the tradition. But, if Jesus followed Moses and not the Sanhedrim, the apparent confirmation would fall to the ground."

It is further shown that the Sanhedrim consisted of three classes:

First. The heads of the 24 courses into which the priests were divided. (First Chronicles, XXIV. v. 1-6. "Now these are the divisions of the sons of Aaron. . . . Among the sons of Eleazar there were sixteen

chief men of the house of their fathers, and eight among the sons of Ithamar according to the house of their fathers.”)

Second. The elders or heads of the people.

Third. The scribes or lawyers.

In session they sat in a crescent, the president, on a seat higher than the rest, in the middle, supported on the right by the vice-president, and on the left by a learned referee. Herod was summoned before the Sanhedrim for putting people to death, B. C. 47, (*Antiquities*, Book XIV., ch. 9, sec. 4), and Jesus was condemned by it for claiming to be the Messiah. Shortly before this it had lost the power of life and death, which, it is said, has been held to have fulfilled the Messianic prophecy of *Genesis XLIX.*, v. 10—“The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come . . .”

But a high modern Jewish authority (Prof. Graetz), referring to the origin of the Great Sanhedrim, does not uphold the tradition that it originated in the time of Moses, and makes the following interesting observations:

“The reverence and love with which the Sacred Book came to be regarded after the days of Ezra and Nehemiah were as deep as had been the general indifference to it in earlier times. . . . It was most natural that, as the life of the community was regulated according to the commands of the Torah, the spiritual leaders of the people should devise a supreme court of justice, possessing the power to make and interpret laws. They were but carrying out the words of *Deuteronomy*, in which was enjoined the establishment of a superior court

of justice, where a final decision in doubtful cases could be given.

"The question now arose as to the number of members to constitute this court. Seventy elders had shared with Moses the great burden of his duties, the representatives of the seventy chief families of the children of Israel. It was, therefore, decided that the supreme tribunal and high court of justice should number seventy elders.

"This peculiar institution which lasted until the destruction of the Judæan commonwealth, which became the guardian of the Law, and at times rose to great political importance, was doubtless called into life at this period. At no other time could it have arisen. Thus the great assembly which Nehemiah had originally summoned, merely for the purpose of accepting the obligations of the Torah, developed into a permanent council for settling all religious and social questions. The high-priest, whether he was worthy of the dignity or not, was placed at their head. The president was called 'father of the tribunal.' "

The Great Sanhedrim, as an organized tribunal, ended, it is said, when the Emperor Theodosius put the last president to death in the year 425 C. E. From that time forth there existed no recognized authoritative tribunal to modify, or, even, to declare how their political statutes might be differentiated from those purely religious ordinances in the Law, which could not be changed.

For many centuries, therefore, each separate Jewish congregation, deprived of the guidance of the superior wisdom of that great tribunal, had striven to observe both the religious and political laws as they had received them, though the latter had ceased to be valid, or even ap-

plicable in their own state of exile in other countries, and only invited further persecution and misery if observed.

THE ASSEMBLING OF THE GREAT SANHEDRIM AND  
ITS PURPOSE

For seventeen centuries, the Great Sanhedrim had been neglected and despised by the rulers of the earth (if, indeed, most of them had ever even known of its existence!) as much as the unfortunate Israelites themselves. It remained for the genius of the Emperor Napoleon to first recognize the dignity and power for good of that venerable body, by calling it to his assistance in trying to better the conditions of his Jewish subjects, by making them Frenchmen, in fact as well as in name, after he had previously called together an assembly composed of the leading Jews of the Empire to discuss, *and answer*, certain questions he had caused to be submitted to it in that behalf.

It was not till 1791, two years after the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens, that the National Assembly, at the end of passionate debates, conferred upon Israelites in France the full status of citizens. Centuries of inveterate hatred and persecution separated Jews and Frenchmen, and no mere declaration of the law could efface such differences of sentiment and of interests, without some lapse of time for the Jews to adapt themselves to their new status by exercising its privileges, and taking up new methods of employment, in place of those to which they had so long been restricted. Hence, it was complained, that while their naturalization made

them citizens, it did not make them true Frenchmen; that while accepting the quality and rights of citizenship, they still hesitated to fulfill its obligations.

The Emperor Napoleon understood and resented this upon seeing many of the Israelites continue to practice usury, as in former times, to the injury of their own race, and the ruin of many debtors, and resolved to impose upon them the performance of all the obligations which followed the name of citizen, and hesitated not to adopt any methods, even the most arbitrary.

He did not, however, stop with measures affecting their civil rights and conduct; the National Assembly had accorded to them only naturalization, and the freedom of religious worship enjoyed by all in France, but the Emperor, also gave to their ancient religious cult, a legal organization, provided salaries for its clergy, to be paid by the States, and elevated it to the same rank and protection as the Catholic and Protestant cults. This spontaneous act of wisdom and justice to their despised religion—so unexpected and so un hoped for, from any Christian ruler or nation—produced an almost indescribable effect upon a race so prone to gratitude for kindness, as the Jews had always shown themselves to be, and they resolved to second the efforts of their great ruler in behalf of Israel and its religion, to the utmost of their power, as well as to be, in every sense, the best of citizens. And they hesitated not to forgive—because they now understood something of his intentions for their good—the harsh words in a part of the imperial proclamation which summoned Israel to its memorable assembly at Paris.

As the foundation for all that was to follow upon it, the essential parts of this interesting document, setting forth with absolute frankness the reasons and purposes of its promulgation, are here given:

"Imperial Decree, given at the Palace of St. Cloud, May 30, 1806.

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy:

"On the report which has been made to us, that in many of the northern departments of our Empire, certain Jews, following no other profession than that of usurers, have, by the accumulation of the most enormous interests, reduced many husbandmen of those districts to the greatest distress;

"We have thought it incumbent on us to lend our assistance to those of our subjects whom rapacity may have reduced to these hard extremities.

"These circumstances have, at the same time, pointed out to us the urgent necessity of reviving, among individuals of the Jewish persuasion residing in our dominions, sentiments of civil morality, which, unfortunately, have been stifled in many of them by the abject state in which they have long languished, and which it is not our intention either to maintain or to renew.

"To carry this design into execution, we have determined to call together an assembly of the principal Jews, and to make our intentions known to them by commissioners whom we shall name for that purpose, and who shall at the same time, collect their opinions as to the means they deem fittest, to re-establish among their brethren the exercise of mechanical arts and useful professions, in order to replace by an honest industry, the shameful resources to which many of them resorted, from generation to generation these many centuries.

"TO THIS END:

"On the report of our Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, of our Minister for the Interior,

"Our Council of State being heard,

"We have decreed, and do decree as follows:

"Art. I.—There is a suspension for a year, from the date of the present decree, of all executions of judgments, and bond obligations, except so far as to prevent limitation, obtained against husbandmen, not traders of the departments (naming them) whenever the bonds entered into by these husbandmen are in favour of Jews.

"Art. II.—There shall be formed, on the 15th of July next, in our good city of Paris, an assembly of individuals, professing the Jewish religion, and residing in the French territory."

(Arts. III., IV., and V. prescribe their character, number, etc.)

"Art. VI.—Our Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON,

"By the Emperor.

(Signed) "H. B. Maret,

"Secretary of State."

The promulgation of this decree produced the utmost joy among the Jews, and their deputies hastened to comply with its directions to appear at Paris at the time prescribed for their assembling. Agitated by alternating hopes and fears, above a hundred Jewish rabbis and notables assembled in the great hall at the Hotel de Ville, which had been specially prepared for their reception and use. They had no plan, as they did not know precisely what were the Emperor's intentions. But when



the officer in command of the guard of honour, which the Emperor had ordered to be in attendance upon their meetings, respectfully approached their newly elected president, Abraham Furtado, to receive his orders, and when, at the adjournments of the assembly, the guard greeted it with military honours and roll of drums, these descendants of the warriors and priests of ancient Israel felt themselves exalted, and their fears were turned to hope and joy, at seeing themselves thus honoured as nowhere else on earth!

With joyful hearts and eager minds, they prepared to enter upon the work before them, which all felt to be of no ordinary importance to their race.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON  
TO THE JEWISH ASSEMBLY:

- "1. Is it lawful for Jews to have more than one wife?
- "2. Is divorce allowed by the Jewish religion? Is divorce valid, although pronounced not by courts of justice, but by virtue of laws in contradiction to the French code?
- "3. May a Jewess marry a Christian, or a Jew a Christian woman? Or does Jewish law order that the Jews should only intermarry among themselves?
- "4. In the eyes of Jews are Frenchmen not of the Jewish religion considered as brethren or as strangers?
- "5. What conduct does Jewish law prescribe toward Frenchmen not of the Jewish religion?
- "6. Do the Jews born in France, and treated by the laws as French citizens, acknowledge France as their country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they bound

to obey the laws and follow the directions of the civil code?

"7. Who elects the rabbis?

"8. What kind of police jurisdiction do the rabbis exercise over the Jews? What judicial power do they exercise over them?

"9. Are the police jurisdiction of the rabbis and the forms of the election regulated by Jewish law, or are they only sanctioned by custom?

"10. Are there professions from which the Jews are excluded by their law?

"11. Does Jewish law forbid the Jews to take usury from their brethren?

"12. Does it forbid, or does it allow, usury in dealing with strangers?"

The Assembly, sitting for several weeks, answered the twelve questions submitted to it, in a series of nine lengthy articles, drawn up in French and Hebrew, of which the substance, as stated in the Jewish Encyclopedia, was as follows:

"1. That in conformity with the decree of R. Gershom, polygamy is forbidden to the Israelites.

"2. That divorce by the Jewish law is valid only after previous decision of the civil authorities.

"3. That the religious act of marriage must be preceded by a civil contract.

"4. That marriages contracted between Israelites and Christians are binding, although they cannot be celebrated with religious forms.

"5. That every Israelite is religiously bound to consider his non-Jewish fellow-citizens as brothers, and to aid, protect, and love them as though they were co-religionists.

"6. That the Israelite is required to consider the land of his birth or adoption as his fatherland, and shall love and defend it when called upon.

"7. That Judaism does not forbid any kind of handicraft or occupation.

"8. That it is commendable for Israelites to engage in agriculture, manual labor, and the arts, as their ancestors in Palestine were wont to do.

"9. That, finally, Israelites are forbidden to exact usury from Jew or Christian."

These replies being in every way satisfactory to the Emperor Napoleon, he caused another communication to be sent to the Assembly of the Jewish Notables, setting forth that, in order to secure a strict observance of such replies, he would summon the Great Sanhedrim to assemble at Paris, which could alone render an authoritative reply to the same questions, and thus publish to the world a clear, and binding interpretation of their ordinances relating thereto. He was so much pleased with the behaviour of the Assembly, that he announced his wish to grant an audience to all the members, whose high character, intelligence and imposing appearance had been made known to him.

THE GREAT SANHEDRIM ASSEMBLES  
AT PARIS

This venerable body, consisting of seventy-one rabbins and eminent doctors, was, accordingly, convoked; part of their number were already members of the Jewish Assembly of Notables then in session, but all of the latter were requested to remain in Paris until after the Great Sanhedrim should have concluded its labours.

Neglected and well-nigh forgotten by all, save the Jews, in the seventeen centuries which had elapsed since its last sittings at the time of the fall of Jerusalem, this announcement caused a profound sensation among Jews everywhere, who fully understood its real significance, while the Parisians idly wondered what the Emperor and the Jewish Sanhedrim had to do with each other.

In an address to the Great Sanhedrim upon its organization, the Emperor said: "This Senate, destroyed together with the Temple, will rise again to enlighten the people it formerly governed; although dispersed throughout the world, it will bring back to the Jews the true meaning of the Law; it will teach them to love and defend the country they inhabit; and it will convince them that the land, where, for the first time since their dispersion, they have been able to raise their voice, is entitled to all those sentiments which rendered their ancient country so dear to them."

The Great Sanhedrim, organized, and proceeding in strict accordance with its ancient methods, took up for consideration and reply the same twelve questions which had been submitted to, and answered by, the Jewish Assembly of Notables. But, preliminary to action upon

these, it formulated and adopted the following Doctrinal Decisions, which were of far greater interest and importance then and now, than either the questions submitted to it by the Emperor, or its own answers to them.

DOCTRINAL DECISIONS, HELD AT PARIS IN THE  
MONTHS OF FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1807

PREAMBLE

"Blessed be forever, the Lord, God of Israel, who has placed upon the throne of France and of the Kingdom of Italy, a prince after his own heart.

"God has witnessed the abasement of the descendants of the venerable Jacob, and he has chosen Napoleon the Great to be the instrument of his mercy. . . . Re-united to-day under his powerful protection in his good city of Paris, to the number of seventy-one doctors of the Law and notables of Israel, we constitute ourselves into the Great Sanhedrim, in order to find in ourselves the means and the power to render the religious ordinances conformable to the principle of our holy laws, and which may serve as a rule and example to all the Israelites.'

"These ordinances shall prove to the nations that our dogmas reconcile themselves with the civil laws under which we live and do not isolate us from the society of men.

"WHEREFORE, we declare: That the divine law, that precious heritage of our forefathers, embraces religious ordinances, and political ordinances.

"That the religious ordinances are, by their nature, absolute and independent of circumstances and of times.

"That it is not the same with the political ordinances,

that is to say, those which constitute the government and which were destined to govern the people of Israel in Palestine while it had its kings, its pontiffs and its magistrates;

"That these political ordinances can no longer be applicable since it no longer forms a separate nation; that in consecrating this distinction already established by tradition, the Great Sanhedrim declares an incontestable fact;

"That an assembly of doctors of the Law, reunited in the Great Sanhedrim, could alone determine the consequences which follow from them;

"That if the ancient Sanhedrims have not done so, it is only because political conditions did not admit it, and that, since the entire dispersal of Israel, no Sanhedrim had been reunited before this one. . . ."

Upon consideration of the twelve questions the Sanhedrim, either unanimously, or by great majorities, ratified and adopted, without a single change, the entire answers already made by their brethren in the Assembly of Notables, justly considering that the interests involved were too great to admit of quibbling over the mere terms of those answers, when, in principle, they were correct, however the forms of several might be objected to.

#### GREAT EFFECTS WHICH HAVE FOLLOWED

France and America were the first countries to accord naturalization and the full rights of citizenship to the Jewish race. In the former, too, its religion was also placed upon the same footing with the Catholic and Protestant in every respect, even to the payment of the

salaries of the clergy by the State. The wisdom of the Great Sanhedrim, in removing the shackles of their obsolete political ordinances, which, at length, was to enable them to enjoy unrestricted intercourse with all men in both civil and political matters, was the first step in its regeneration. The heart of Israel opened in ecstasy to the opportunities thus, for the first time, given it. Other countries, though, unhappily, not all as yet, have followed the examples of France and America.

And though but little more than a century has elapsed, the energy and genius of that small, scattered people have produced results so astonishing in the fields of commerce, business and finance, as have already excited both the envy and jealousy of the rest of the world. In literature, in science, in art, Israel has won honourable distinction.

In politics, in law, and in statesmanship, it has deserved and attained many of the highest distinctions in public life. And the future can but hold still more in store for a race, so gifted, so marvellously energetic, as it has shown itself to be.

Yet, though it has attained power, position and "wealth beyond the dreams of avarice," Israel still endures the sight of its ancient land in bondage. Practical though he may be in business, the Jew is also a dreamer. He has sacredly preserved the Law handed down to him, not merely for centuries, but for thousands of years. And it cannot be doubted that he still dreams of the day he will redeem Jerusalem and once more set up his Holy of Holies upon Zion's hills.

Strangely enough, the opportunity was once, it has been asserted, almost within his grasp, through the far-reaching designs of the Emperor Napoleon upon Egypt

and the East. The circumstances, so far as known, are well deserving of mention here, as a fitting close to this Paper.

## AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINE

It was well known to the Emperor that Jews were not the only persons in France who followed usurious practices; the total absence of laws to repress it had really brought it about in France and had made it quite common among moneyed men, who often exacted 5% per month, even with landed property as security.

And it has been contended by several writers that some of the questions he propounded to the Jewish Assemblies were really captious, and wholly unnecessary; that, in reality, he entertained ulterior and far more extended views as to the future of the Jewish race, than were thus disclosed, and that he sought by bringing their two great assemblies to Paris, to place himself in intimate touch with them by engaging in prolonged discussions, upon both spiritual and political matters, and that, while urging upon them the importance of their engaging in all branches of industry and husbandry, he sought to secure their friendship and support everywhere, by setting the example to all other rulers of bestowing upon them all the rights and privileges of other Frenchmen.

An English writer of that time relates that, "The Jewish deputies say that Napoleon conceived the idea of their *regeneration*, or their *political redemption*, in the land of Egypt, and on the *banks of the Jordan*," and, further, expresses the fear that, "his gigantic mind entertains the idea of re-establishing them in Palestine, and that this forms a part of his plan respecting Egypt,



which he is well known never to have abandoned. It is with this view that he encourages them to follow those professions which are necessary for men forming a distinct nation in a land of their own."

Whatever foundation there may have been for such a conjecture, it is a fact that Bonaparte, while in Palestine, did issue a proclamation, in which he invited, "All the Jews of Asia and of Africa to come and range themselves under his banners, in order to re-establish Jerusalem in its ancient splendour." On December 19, 1798, after visiting the peninsula of Sinai, he issued an order directing that everything should be done for the monastery at Mt. Sinai "in order that the tradition of our conquest shall be carried forward to future races, out of respect for Moses and the Jewish nation, and because the monastery is kept by men of education and good order." All their taxes were remitted, and they were to be their own masters, subject to no superior. The monks of Mt. Sinai still religiously treasure the record of the marks of honour and friendship for Israel thus shown by Bonaparte ("The Great Captains-Napoleon"—Dodge). So devoted an ally as Palestine, thus regenerated and restored to its own people, with their great wealth, and forming the keystone in the arch of Syria and Egypt, so long coveted by the Emperor as a base of operations against British power in India, would have rendered a future French occupation of those two countries immeasurably safer and stronger.

Had the Emperor remained upon his throne, it would, apparently, scarcely admit of doubt that this age would

see this noblest and most cherished dream of Israel, in all the ages since the fall of the Sacred City, a splendid reality, with a new Temple standing there, whose magnificence not even that of Solomon could have surpassed. Alas! what ambitions for himself, and what hopes for Israel, were shattered in his untimely fall!

But the ideals of Judaism are imperishable; Zionism is a living, mighty force, pressing onward to the realization of its splendid dream, and Israel has shown itself supremely worthy to live, by surviving persecutions and efforts to subvert it unparalleled in human annals. Who, but a son of Israel, could utter so impressive and noble a eulogium upon the constancy and endurance of his own race, as the following?—"We still preserve laws which were given to us in the first days of the world, in the infancy of Nature! The last followers of a religion which had embraced the universe have disappeared these fifteen centuries, and our temples are still standing! The history of this people connects present times with the first ages of the world, by the testimony it bears of the existence of those early periods; it begins at the cradle of mankind, and its remnants are likely to be preserved to the very day of universal destruction." ("An Appeal to the Justice of Kings and Nations," 1801.)

Seated in its own house again, as the ally and friend of the Emperor, and taking on new life and power in its restoration, who shall say that a new and enlightened Propaganda of the Ancient Faith, emanating from its venerated seat in Jerusalem, might not, in the century which has since elapsed, have rivalled even the Prop-

aganda Fidei from Rome itself, in its effects upon the beliefs of the nations of the earth?

Can Israel forget that the darkness of Europe was first dispelled by the glorious light which emanated from Jerusalem,—or abandon the fixed idea in the text-book of Judaism that it still has a mission to perform as an apostle of the highest ideals of the Faith to the rest of the nations, while shaking off the sordid reproach so long made, as if true of none but Israel, that it has only “Loved stones and treasured dust”?

In an age whose conception of Peace rests upon the bayonets of millions of men, armed for conquest and mutual slaughter, what higher appeal to listen to the new and bloodless proselyting Judaism, could be addressed to lovers of peace and good will to all men—heathen as well as Christian—than the sublime injunction of the venerated Hillel?

“Be of the disciples of Aaron, love peace, seek peace, love mankind, thus lead them to the Law.”

Yet, it is not enough to have sacredly preserved and obeyed the Law! To reassert the true dignity and position of its people among the nations, Israel needs to sit in “the habitation of its fathers,” once more. From no other spot could Judaism, supported by all the power and intelligence of its reassembled priesthood, be so impressively heard, as in the very atmosphere and scenes of its Ancient Land of Promise. But scattered and almost lost amid the peoples of distant lands, its voice is half stifled everywhere.

In Jerusalem it would be free, strong, clear and harmonious, as we see in the case of Rome. The loss of temporal power was a far greater blow to Judaism than it was to Roman Catholicism, great as it has been to the

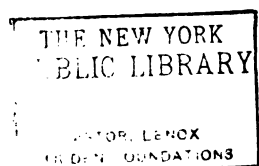
latter. Restored once more to the possession of its rightful heirs the Holy City would become the other great Religious Capital of the World. The moral effect of its position as the political, as well as the religious capital, of Israel, of a strong, independent Judæan commonwealth, could not fail to restore to that people much of its ancient distinction and consideration among the nations.

More venerable than Rome, and, perhaps, even more venerated, Jerusalem might well secure for Judaism a wider and more attentive hearing for a new and earnest propaganda of its teachings, than its now scattered believers may ever hope to receive.

"Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God."  
 "And of Zion it shall be said, the Highest Himself shall establish her."—(LXXXVII. Psalm.)

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## DON MANUEL GODOY OF BADAJOZ, "EL PRINCIPE DE LA PAZ"

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This remarkable man was born at Badajoz in the province of Estremadura, Spain, in 1767, of a noble family of the inferior nobility.

Amid the dazzling halo of glory surrounding the name of Napoleon, and the bewildering succession of great deeds he wrought, with all Europe as the stage, the world has almost overlooked a character and a career which, at any other period, would have attracted wide attention.

It is intended here to show, not merely the manner of man Don Manuel Godoy was, and the extraordinary means of his sudden elevation to, and continuance in, the supreme power in Spain, through the criminal favor of its queen—but, also, to direct attention to the strong influence exerted by the actions, or, rather, the intrigues of this singular character, upon the causes leading up to the overthrow of the French Empire, as well as upon the destinies of all Europe—though nothing was further from the scope of the intentions of that guilty pair than such great ends.

Born to little wealth, but with the advantages of a noble lineage, a handsome, erect frame, and, as appeared afterwards, a marvellously strong physical constitution, in the semi-tropical climate of Estremadura—he early evinced that strong predilection for intrigue and conquest among the opposite sex, which was afterwards to be carried by him to a pitch of attainment which has

distinguished him in that regard, beyond the rivalry of almost any character in history, unless it be, perhaps, the equally renowned Augustus the Strong, King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, reputed to have been the father of *several hundred* children, legitimate and otherwise—among them, the celebrated Marshal Maurice de Saxe, of the French Army.

His education was of the narrow, limited character customary among the poorer nobility and gentry of the country at that period, and, in fact, his training was provincial in every sense of the word, as, at that time, the various divisions of the kingdom still continued to regard their own internal concerns as something quite apart from the rest of the monarchy, and gave little attention to anything outside their own limits.

Many of the provinces, having been independent kingdoms, like those of Aragon, Valencia, and others, before their incorporation into the greater kingdom of Spain, had reserved important rights and privileges which were jealously guarded. Amongst these reserved rights was the power of imposing heavy import duties upon all commerce from the other provinces, which had the mischievous effect of isolating, in a great degree, each province from the others by restricting all intercourse to the narrowest possible limits.

Another most oppressive burden was the Alcavala, a royal tax, levied throughout Spain, on all transfers of property, of 10 to 14 per cent. on the *selling* price of all commodities, including all agricultural products, whether in the raw or the manufactured state, which was chargeable as often as they were sold or exchanged, thus subjecting every farmer, manufacturer and merchant to constant visitations from the tax gatherers.

Aragon and Catalonia only were exempt from the Alcavala, having purchased their exemption from Philip V. at a heavy cost, and so were in a more flourishing condition than the other parts of the kingdom.

And one of the first pacific acts of Napoleon, after his iron grasp had been laid upon Spain, was the formal decree of December 4, 1808, abolishing the Alcavala, and all the barriers between province and province, which had so long impeded the internal commerce of the kingdom.

The Spanish people themselves recognized the wisdom of this act by incorporating it in their first popular constitution in 1812, where it has since remained unchanged.

But in Godoy's time the old isolated conditions prevailed in Estremadura as everywhere else, and he grew to manhood in a horizon little wider than its limits; Madrid, with the court and its splendors, seemed at a vast distance, in those days of travel by coach and horseback, from the small provincial capital of Estremadura and its obscure gentry.

Full of the fire and energy of youth, he spent much of his time, mounted upon the swiftest Andalusian horses, coursing after the foxes and hares that abounded then as now, on the wide, rolling plains stretching away to the north and south from the yellow sands of the Guadiana river, with never a thought of that Queen of Spain (save as he might have looked upon some bright star, in its infinite distance above himself) who seemed so far, and was yet so near, to him—to Manuel Godoy, the unknown young caballero, who had never stirred beyond the confines of his native province! In such



sports he, at least, became a fine horseman, and, so, fitted to enter the royal guards when the time came.

He possessed a fine voice and touched the lute with much skill. The handsomest man in Badajoz, he beguiled the fair sex, not less by his personal appearance and appealing glances, than by his serenades and burning songs of love, beneath their latticed windows. Many a tradition of his prowess in that line survives to this day, in that staid old walled city, with its narrow, crooked streets, and fortress-like convents, churches and monasteries of gray stone. It is related that these conquests became so numerous as to lead to jealous rivalries among his female adorers, causing tears and bitter enmities, that also meant serious personal danger to himself.

At last, in 1788, at the age of 21 years, his family secured his admission into the royal bodyguard at Madrid, and thus, while removing him to a distance from his social entanglements at Badajoz, launched him upon a career of advancement, power and riches, not surpassed, in sudden caprice of royal favor, by any transition from barber to grand vizier, at the nod of any sultan or caliph in Eastern tales.

Charles IV., of the Spanish Bourbons, then occupied the throne of Spain. His queen, Louisa Maria, of the Tuscan-Neapolitan branch of the Bourbons, was a woman of spirit and capacity, but was an open, shameless profligate, who exercised absolute domination and influence over the mind of the jaded, indolent old king, whose greatest desire was to be spared all the labors and responsibilities of his position, while left free to enjoy such pleasures as he chose.

"Every day," said Charles IV. to Napoleon, "winter as well as summer, I go out to shoot from the morning

till noon. I then dine, and return to the chase, which I continue till sunset. Manuel Godoy then gives me a brief account of what is going on, and I go to bed, to recommence the same life on the morrow."

This in 1808, twenty years after Godoy first became the queen's paramour with his knowledge.

Having joined his troop in the guards at Madrid, and donned his splendid uniform, the handsome young guardsman prepared to resume his old career of conquest, but this time, upon a far greater scale, and it was to be among the fair and noble ladies of the court of Spain, upon whom the vicious manners and morals of the queen had already reacted, with all the power of a welcome example, and the court at Madrid rivalled in its gilded moral debasement the most corrupt in Europe.

Of Godoy's life at the outset in his new environments, we are told, in the eloquent words of the historian Abbott, that: "He loved the moonlight, and wandered beneath the shadows of the dark towers of the Escorial, and sang passionately the plaintive and the burning songs of Spain. The queen, from the sunny clime of Italy, and from the voluptuous court of Naples, was the child of untamed passions. She heard the warbling voice of the young soldier; sent for him to the palace; lavished upon him wealth and honors, and surrendered her husband, the government, and her own person, without reserve, into his hands. The imbecile old king, happy to be relieved from the cares of state, cordially acquiesced in this arrangement. He also, in the inconceivable depths of a degradation which revolted not from dishonor, loved Godoy, leaned upon his shoulder, and called him his protector and friend."

To such depths had the court of the once mighty empire of Charles V. sunk—affording another illustration of the baneful truth that where female depravity has the upper hand, it reduces a palace as well as a cottage, to the level of a brothel.

Thus, in 1792, at the age of only 25 years, he had, by the queen's shameful influence, been elevated from private in her bodyguards to the post of prime minister of Spain, and held in his untried hands the destinies, for weal or woe, of a great kingdom!

The Spanish people, outside of the ranks of the corrupt, enervated nobility, had no voice or influence in the affairs of their despotic government, and were obliged to endure, in the sight of Europe, the humiliation of their once proud nation, at the hands of this princess, who chanced, by virtue of "divine right," to sit upon the throne of Spain and the Indies.

But, unlike the string of "favorites" of her illustrious but fickle contemporary, and rival in this species of depravity, the Empress Catherine II. of Russia, who were taken on, and thrown aside with such bewildering rapidity—the ascendancy acquired by the "favorite," Godoy, over the queen Louisa Maria, was never shaken. Its power was such that it enabled him, during the fifteen years he was the uncontrolled minister of Spain, to bid defiance to the numerous plots for his degradation from office, that were set on foot by the jealous grandees of the court, who hated and despised him as a *parvenu*.

Having been elevated to the most powerful position in the kingdom, by the criminal favor of the queen, he had no resource for its preservation but in a continuance of the same methods with her to which he had owed his rise. That he should have been able to succeed in this

for twenty years, with a woman in her position and of such dissolute character, is sufficiently amazing, but, it is related that he had the singular art, after 1793, not merely to lead captive his royal mistress, but to acquire an equally unlimited sway over the mind of the king, and, at the same time, live publicly in Madrid, under the very eyes of the queen, with another mistress, (Dona Josefa Tudo), by whom he had several children.

While, as has been remarked, he had received but little education, he unquestionably possessed considerable natural talents, the exercise of which appeared, in an especial manner, in the numerous and successful intrigues which he carried on with the ladies of the court, whose rivalry for his favors increased with every additional title and rich estate he acquired. Duke of Alcudia, grandee of the first rank, generalissimo of the army, and high admiral of the navy, were among the titles and rewards bestowed in grateful recognition of his unflagging devotion and tireless activities.

In the year 1795, under his guidance, as its supreme minister, Spain concluded peace with the French Republic, with which it had been at war for two years, by the Treaty of Basle, for negotiating which, his sovereigns conferred upon him the imposing title of "Prince of the Peace," usually called for the sake of brevity, the "Prince of Peace"—after having vainly endeavored to conjure up some other more high-sounding name for their favorite. From that time, down to the period of the French invasion in 1808, his position as the real ruler in Spain was generally accepted by the cabinets of Europe, and his influence over the king and queen became even greater than it had been. So much so, indeed, that, at the special desire of the king, he had finally

espoused his niece, Maria Teresa de Bourbon, the handsome young daughter of Don Luis, brother to that monarch, while the king's own daughter was affianced to the young King of Etruria

Although it might have been supposed that it would do so, yet this marriage in no wise interrupted his relations with the queen, or his other mistress Dona Josefa Tüdo, nor his intrigues with the ladies of the court, in whom, indeed, it appeared to have inspired an added feeling of rivalry for the piquant privilege of sharing, with the most beautiful young princess of the royal family and court, the attentions of her newly espoused husband! In vain may history be searched for another, at all approaching him, in the astonishing arts he possessed of controlling women, and stilling their jealousies over divided attentions from the opposite sex. A writer of that day said of Godoy: "He exercised at Madrid an incredible fascination over the feminine element of the court—endowed with all the gifts of worldly seduction—*ce beau garçon*."

So serious and veracious a historian as Thiers, in the History of the Consulate and the Empire, has felt impelled, in the interest of the truth of history, to lay bare the lives thus led by Louisa Maria and the Prince of Peace, in the following amazing recital, which is quoted literally:

"She was nearly fifty years old, and had still certain vestiges of beauty, which she strove to perpetuate with infinite pains. Going to mass every day, like the king, she employed in corresponding with a great number of persons, and particularly with the Prince of Peace, those hours which Charles IV. spent in his workshop and his stables. In this correspondence she communicated to

the Prince of Peace the affairs of court and of State, and received from him a report of all the puerilities and scandal of Madrid. She finished her morning by giving one hour to her children, and one to the duties of government. Not a paper, not an appointment, not a pardon, went for the royal signature, before it was submitted to her. The minister who should have ventured upon such an infraction of the conditions of her favour would have been instantly dismissed. She dined alone, like the King, in the middle of the day; the rest of the afternoon was devoted to receptions, in which she acquitted herself very gracefully, and to the Prince of Peace, on whom she bestowed several hours of her time every day.

"The reader is aware that the Prince of Peace was no longer minister at the period of which we are treating. M. d'Urquijo, whom we shall presently introduce, had succeeded him; but that prince was nevertheless the first authority in the kingdom. This singular personage, ignorant, fickle, of no capacity, but of handsome exterior, as it is necessary to be in order to succeed in a corrupt court, the arrogant ruler of Queen Louisa, had reigned for twenty years over her vacant and frivolous soul. Weary of his high favour, he shared it cheerfully with obscure favourites, indulged in a thousand debaucheries, which he recounted to his crowned slave, whom he delighted to mortify by his stories, nay, even maltreated her, it is said, in the grossest manner; and yet he retained an absolute empire over that princess, who was incapable of resisting him, who could not be happy unless she saw him every day. She had long since committed the government to him, with the official title of first minister, and although he no longer retained the title, he did the

power; for nothing was done in Spain but according to his pleasure. . . . King Charles IV., always upright, well-intentioned, but incapable of any other exertion than that of hunting, regarding it as a favour of Heaven, that some one should undertake the task of reigning for him; his wife, always dissolute as a Roman princess of the Lower Empire, always submissive to the old *garde du corps*, who had become Prince of the Peace, and reserving her heart for him while she gave up her person to vulgar gallants of his choosing; the Prince of the Peace, always vain, light, indolent, ignorant, deceitful, and cowardly, having every vice but cruelty, always domineering over his master, or taking the trouble to conceive for him soft, and capricious resolutions, which sufficed to keep a debased government going—the King, the Queen, the Prince of the Peace, had brought Spain into a state difficult to be described.

“No finances, no navy, no army, no policy, no authority over colonies ready to revolt, no respect from the indignant nation, . . .”

“To the public scandal of his adulterous intercourse with the Queen were added many other scandals. After having married Maria Louisa de Bourbon, whom he had chosen in order to draw near the throne, and whom he neglected from dislike of her modest virtues, he had publicly attached himself, by marriage according to some, by long habit according to others, to a young lady named Josefa Tudo, by whom he had several children. . . . He loaded her with wealth, and surrounded her with a sort of power; for it was to her house persons went to see him when they wished to converse freely with him; thither, too, the agents of European diplomacy repaired to receive their instructions; and while

pouring out to her the cares, the vexations, the anxieties, to which his blind levity exposed him, he could find in the youth and beauty of a sister of Mademoiselle Tudo's, pleasures which crowned the scandals of his life.

"And all Spain was acquainted with this disgraceful licentiousness: the Queen herself was acquainted with it, and bore with it; the King alone was ignorant of it, and thanked Heaven for sending him a man who laboured and governed for him!"

The Prince of Peace has been severely blamed for habitually using physical violence upon the Queen throughout their long intimacy. Inasmuch as such a thing would, ordinarily, have instantly cost him his position of favour and power, and, probably, his life as well, some explanation, other than mere cruelty on his part, or, even the wish to be so towards her, must be sought, and it has been suggested that it appears to be found in the circumstance that the Queen, most probably, was subject to a type of sexual perversion (to which women are peculiarly liable), and since that day recognized and denominated by the eminent diagnostician, Professor von Kraft-Eben of the University of Vienna, as *masochism*, the peculiar characteristic of which is that such perverts actually experience the keenest delight and physical pleasure in receiving personal chastisement, and undergoing humiliations and debasing treatment at the hands of the objects of their devotion, and are rendered correspondingly unhappy, and discontented in the absence of it.

Whatever may be thought of such a conjecture, no one, certainly, could have had stronger motives to refrain from such brutality towards such a person as the Queen of Spain than her lover, the Prince of Peace, who



would hardly have dared to practice it, it would seem, had it not been welcome to the recipient, whose blind, passionate adoration of his beautiful person never left her—perhaps, *because* of its continuance!

Like most of his countrymen, the Prince of Peace was devoted to the national pastime of bull-fighting, which was conducted upon a scale of unusual magnificence, under his patronage, to gratify the multitude as well as the court. His passion for show and splendor, for the opera, and an endless succession of balls, hunting parties, and expensive journeys, with numerous retinues, to the principal cities of the country, occasioned a constant want of money, which was supplied by the sale of offices and the receipt of bribes of every description, which led to a frightful system of corruption and inefficiency in every branch of the public service, and thereby contributed much to leave Spain open and ill-prepared against the aggressions of France. It is said, however, that though corrupt, he never disgraced his administration by acts of cruelty, and rescued more than one victim from the vengeance of the Inquisition.

From such a man, and one so environed by the most enervating, as well as corrupting, influences, in the peculiar, degrading position he occupied, of paramour of the queen, along with that of prime minister—no high order of statesmanship or government might have been expected, and, yet, he showed himself not unmindful of the responsibilities of his position with respect to the interests of the country, and proved himself better fitted to rule than some of the Bourbons, by trying to correct some of the many abuses, and by securing the decree of salutary laws. Greater benefits were conferred on public industry during the fifteen years of his administration,

it is said, than during the three preceding reigns. He established schools for the encouragement of agriculture, of medicine and the mechanical arts, and caused considerable sums to be expended in public improvements, as well as for the preservation of those already made.

The misfortunes of Spain resulted largely from the errors and weakness of his foreign policy. In 1800 he entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the First Consul of France, with the purpose, among others, of attacking the feeble little kingdom of Portugal.

In the year 1801, the first Franco-Spanish invasion of Portugal was decided upon, as the latter country stubbornly adhered to its alliance with Great Britain. As generalissimo of the Spanish army, the Prince of Peace prepared to cross the Portuguese frontier at the head of an army of 40,000 Spanish troops, supported by 15,000 French troops under General Leclerc, who only took a small part in the campaign and remained near the frontier. On this occasion England offered its ancient ally no support, and the operations which actually took place between the Spanish and Portuguese forces were very much in the nature of *opera-bouffe* warfare.

The Duke de Lafoes, a veteran of 82 years, was Prime Minister of Portugal and commander-in-chief of its armies, and was strongly opposed to any contest. The Regent of Portugal was son-in-law to the King of Spain, who really did not wish to see him despoiled of his dominions. The Portuguese commander-in-chief, knowing this, calmly awaited at his headquarters for the Spanish army, which advanced with equal aversion to hostile measures, and might have avoided hostilities altogether but for the sudden desire of the Prince of Peace to distinguish himself by some feat of arms, but such

fighting as there was much in the spirit which the old Duke de Lafoes hastened to urge upon the Spanish commanders when they approached his position: "Why should we fight?" said he; "Portugal and Spain are exactly like two sumpter mules in harness. England urges us on, France spurs you. *So, let us frisk about—let us jingle our bells if needful, but for God's sake let us not harm one another!!* They would only laugh at our expense!"

After brief military operations, distinguished by a display of the most stately courtesy on both sides, peace was concluded in June, 1801, under the auspices of Lucien Bonaparte, then ambassador of France to Spain, and the Prince of Peace, under the terms of which Portugal renounced the English alliance, shut its ports against English ships and commerce, and ceded the fortified town and district of Olivenza to Spain. It was said at the time in both Paris and Madrid that the French ambassador and the Prince of Peace shared a large bribe on this occasion, for the easy terms granted to Portugal.

Certain it is, that it by no means met the views of the First Consul at Paris, who angrily refused to ratify it, and threatened to send a second French army under St. Cyr to Portugal to extort more acceptable conditions. In terror of this, the court of Lisbon thereupon sent an envoy to Paris authorized to treat on other bases for peace, and deprived the Duke de Lafoes of his military command. His sudden disappearance from the army, was followed by a jocular proclamation posted about the streets of Lisbon to this effect: "LOST, between Portalegre and Abrantes, a boy about eighty-two years of age, with black velvet boots! (the Duke wore velvet

gaiters on account of the gout). Whosoever may find him is requested to bring him to the office for advertisements!"

The Portuguese envoy was not received at Paris, and the negotiations were conducted at Madrid under the mediation of King Charles IV.—that is to say, of the Prince of Peace—and another treaty of peace concluded between France and Portugal in September, 1801, by the terms of which Portugal now paid France 25,000,000 francs, of which the Republic was in great need, shut its ports against England, and ceded a part of its American territories to France. The King of Spain was rewarded for his good offices by the First Consul, by the elevation of his son-in-law, the Duke of Parma to the throne of the newly erected Kingdom of Etruria which had lately come into the possession of France under the treaty of peace with Austria following the Battle of Hohenlinden.

It is said that the young King of Etruria was very weak intellectually and, like the late weak-minded young Emperor of Russia, Peter III., who would make his bride, afterwards Catherine II., get out of bed and play with dolls with him most of the night, the Etrurian Prince also had to be amused during his stay at Paris by such games as hide-and-seek, leap-frog, and childish play-things, when the aides-de-camp, upon whom his society had been imposed, found that only such trifles appealed to him. At least, he was not especially vicious, and the First Consul, when asked why he imposed such a king upon the Tuscans, reconciled the matter to his conscience by saying: "Policy requires it; besides, the young man is not worse than the common run of kings, and further, the presence at Paris of his Majesty the

King of Etruria would much vex a good many worthy people who are trying hard to revive a taste for the Bourbons."

For the part he took in this war, the Prince of Peace was richly rewarded by his grateful sovereigns. But this alliance with France involved Spain, not long afterwards, in war with Great Britain.

The terrible disaster of Cape Trafalgar, where Nelson almost destroyed the immense fleets of Spain and France in October, 1805, rendered the French alliance very unpopular in Spain, all the ports of which were blockaded by the English, and its commerce ruined.

Deeming his own popularity thus endangered, and having become resentful at what he considered personal slights (in which the queen, also, warmly shared) under the overbearing actions of his powerful ally, who seemed more and more disposed to treat Spain as a mere dependency, and its treasures and fleets as his own, the Prince of Peace, with the design of throwing off the yoke of the French alliance, opened secret negotiations, in the summer of 1806, with Russia and Prussia, when informed that those powers were about to attack France.

Knowing the French armies were then close upon the frontiers of Prussia, far distant from the Pyrenees, and feeling certain France would be beaten, he deemed concealment no longer necessary, and, early in October, 1806, issued a proclamation inviting "all Spaniards to unite under the national standards; the rich to make sacrifices for the cost of a war which will soon be called for by the common good; the magistrates to rouse the public enthusiasm to enable the nation to enter with glory the lists which were preparing."

Napoleon read this defiance on the field of Jena, the

evening after the battle in which he had, at one stroke, prostrated Prussia into the dust. Too politic to give vent to his anger then, he merely asked an explanation, through his ambassador, of its meaning, and pretended to be satisfied with the flimsy pretence that it referred to an apprehended descent upon Spain by the Moors. And, by demanding further proofs of devotion to France, under most severe threats if not furnished, he even obliged the now terrified and obsequious Prince of Peace to despatch the Marquis de la Romana with 16,000 of the finest troops of the kingdom, from their stations near the French frontier, which they were ready to attack, to the shores of the Baltic Sea, where they would become his hostages, and, at the same time, denude Spain of its best defenders.

Portugal was, also, a party to this intended attack upon France, but, thunderstruck by the catastrophe of Jena, made haste to disavow all participation in a project which all concerned pretended now equally to condemn, and sent a Portuguese force of 9,000 men to still further augment the armies of the great conqueror in Germany.

It was this meditated treacherous attack in his rear, by the Prince of Peace, while he was engaged in a great war in Germany and Poland, which first caused Napoleon to determine that the Houses of Bourbon and Braganza should cease to reign. And thus, "on the eve of the battle of Jena were the first sparkles of that terrible conflagration visible, which afterward burned with such fury in Russia, Germany, and the Spanish Peninsula." (Hard. IX., 285.) And hence arose the Peninsula War, of which Napoleon afterward said in bitterness, "That wretched war was my ruin. It divided my

forces—multiplied the necessity of my efforts, and injured my character for morality.” (Scott 1, p. 490.)

The Peace of Tilsit in July, 1807, and a complete understanding with the Emperor Alexander of Russia, which gave to Napoleon a free hand in the Peninsula, enabled him to set on foot his designs against both Spain and Portugal.

As a first step, he concluded the treaty of Fontainebleau with the Prince of Peace, for the partition of Portugal, by an invasion of both French and Spanish troops. One-third of that country, or about 11,000 square miles, (an area almost the size of Belgium) embracing the provinces of Portuguese Alemtejo and Algarve, was to be given in sovereignty to Godoy, with the title of “King of the Algarves,” with only the proviso that it should revert to his Catholic majesty of Spain in case of a failure of heirs.

And thus was Spain used, by the Prince of Peace and his infatuated mistress, the queen, to minister still further to his and her vanity, by his elevation to the ranks of royalty.

There were, however, motives of prudence, not to say of fear, in this effort to install the Prince of Peace as an independent sovereign in the proposed new kingdom of the Algarves. In the course of the year 1807 the health of the old King Charles IV., apparently, became much impaired. It was said that, in reality, he was melancholy as well as ill, and his death was believed to be at hand. Also, that the nation, without any ill will towards him would regard his death as the end of its humiliations under the infamous control of the Prince of Peace and the Queen: the Prince of the Asturias as the end of his bondage, as he would then become King:

the Queen and the Prince of Peace as the end of their power; that for them, it was more than the end of a usurped power—it was a catastrophe; for they supposed that the Prince of the Asturias would take his revenge upon them and they measured that revenge by their own sentiments towards him.

Knowing that Portugal could make no resistance to his vast power, the emperor had despatched General Junot from Bayonne with an army of 25,000 young conscripts across the territory of his ally, Spain, with positive orders to occupy Lisbon by a certain date.

There then appeared in *Le Moniteur*, the official organ at Paris, the ominous announcement, by Napoleon's authority, that, "*the House of Braganza had ceased to reign.*" It is related by Jomini that this publication was somewhat premature, in that the British government, being informed of it by its agents, instantly hurried this news and that of Junot's rapid march, by sea to Lisbon, in the unheard-of time of seven days after its publication—thus barely enabling the royal family and court to hastily embark and drop down the Tagus on board the Portuguese fleet for Rio de Janiero, Brazil, then a dependency of Portugal—bearing, also, on board five hundred millions of francs in gold, silver, plate and jewels of the rarest value from the mines of Golconda—just as Junot with the leading brigades of his exhausted troops was hurriedly pouring into the gates of Lisbon, which made no resistance whatever. Enraged at seeing his prey escaping, he rushed some of his artillery to the quays and fired upon the last of the retreating vessels, with small damage to them, as they disappeared in the rain and mist.

The intention had been to occupy Lisbon before the



news of the deposition of the House of Braganza was known there, and thus secure, not merely the royal family, but, especially, the immense treasures with which, by the pernicious help and alertness of the English, they had now escaped beyond reach,—to the intense, poignant grief and anger of Junot and his imperial master at Paris!

However, Junot scoured the country for whatever was left, and soon held a large part of it in his undisputed possession; and meanwhile a Spanish corps was to hold Alemtejo and Algarve for disposition under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, that is to say, for the Prince of Peace.

At this interesting stage of the schemes of the Prince of Peace and the Queen, who were joyfully preparing the means for the new King of the Algarves to ascend his throne, a most awkward thing occurred.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and a large English army had landed near Lisbon, and defeated Junot at the battle of Vimiero, on the 20th of August, 1808, so decisively, that the latter was glad to conclude the convention of Cintra, by which he agreed to evacuate the whole of Portugal forthwith, on condition that he and his army should be transported back to France, by sea in English ships.

It was with the deepest chagrin and bitter regrets, that the “King of the Algarves” and the Queen, Louisa Maria, saw their expected kingdom, with all their own dreams of power and security together, amid the delicious slopes of Algarve, vanish into thin air, like a veritable “castle in Spain.”

Meanwhile the designs of Napoleon upon Spain itself were hastened by the intelligence of the bitter quarrels and intrigues in the royal family at Madrid, with the

King, the Queen and Godoy on one side, and Ferdinand, the eldest son, Prince of the Asturias, then 24 years of age, and his partisans, on the other. Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of a powerful French army, suddenly crossed the Pyrenees, and occupied Madrid, from which the Spanish court had retired to Aranjuez, on the Tagus. There the Prince of Peace induced the King and Queen to consent to hurry to Cádiz, from there to embark, like the Portuguese royal family, to find a secure asylum in their possessions in North America,—but, just as the royal carriages and guards were ready at the gates of the palace to set out for Seville, it was reported to a great concourse of the people, assembled to see the departure, that the Crown Prince Ferdinand was unwilling to leave the country, and wished to stay with its people in their trials.

The people instantly cut the traces of the carriages, refused to allow the court to depart, and the King and Queen were obliged to re-enter the palace. The furious mob then went to seek the Prince of Peace at his own palace. It is related by the Spanish historian, Toreno, (1-p. 74) that the outbreak at Godoy's palace first commenced from the mob recognizing, in the person of a veiled lady who left the palace at dusk surrounded by the guards, Dona Josefa Tudo, who had so long been the mistress of the Queen's favorite, from which place they also conducted his wife, the Princess Maria Theresa, though with all the respect due to her rank, to the royal palace. Thus, *both* the wife and the mistress were found residing quietly under the same roof, and neither the object of jealousy on the part of the Queen!

The Prince of Peace hid himself from the search of the mob, for nearly two days, and then was detected

as he ventured out to get a glass of water. He was seized, and was, with difficulty, rescued by some guards and put into prison, for safe keeping, grievously wounded.

The disorders increased to such a degree, that Ferdinand, whom the people now adored, at the entreaty of the King and Queen, whose greatest anxiety, amid all the perils about them, was chiefly for the life of their favorite,—hurried to the prison and prevailed on the mob to retire, by promising that Godoy should be tried. The King, deserted by the whole court, and fearing for the life of himself and the Queen, and especially Godoy, abdicated the throne as the surest means of saving their lives, in favor of the Prince of Asturias, who was proclaimed king the same day, under the name of Ferdinand VII.

Murat declined to recognize the title of Ferdinand as king. The old King, Charles IV., thereupon wrote to Napoleon and to Murat as well, disavowing his abdication, claiming that it was forced. Murat was instructed to send the Prince of Peace to Bayonne, where Napoleon was about to come, and rescued him from prison only by threatening to put the entire guard of 600 men to the sword if they killed Godoy, rather than surrender him, as was intended. He then sent him, with a strong French guard, to Bayonne. All these disorders renewed the terrors of the King and Queen for the safety of their favorite, for whose preservation they showed, at all times, much more concern than for their own affairs. Upon the advice of Murat, they too set out in royal state for Bayonne, under a French escort of the splendid cavalry of Marshal Bessieres, to lay their grievances before Napoleon, as well as to rejoin Godoy, whom they

were rejoiced to find there, enjoying the best of treatment at the hands of the emperor.

Ferdinand himself had also been induced, by Napoleon's confidential minister Savary, to go to Bayonne also, in order to present his side of the disputes, and urge his recognition as king.

Napoleon heard, patiently and with amazement, all parties together, and such was the anger of the old King, and the fury of the Queen, that, after heaping the bitterest invectives upon Ferdinand, who attempted to reply—they were only restrained by the presence of the Emperor from physical violence upon the young prince.

"Our son," said the Queen to the Emperor, in a voice hoarse with rage, "has the head of a mule, and the heart of a tiger." And when Ferdinand sneered at her own immoral life and behavior, she hurled back at him the awful rejoinder, that "the King was not his father."

Here ends, after much negotiation, further active participation in the affairs of Spain, by this strangely constituted group. Glad to escape from the impending troubles and dangers at Madrid, they all willingly renounced all their rights to the Spanish throne and government, in favor of any one Napoleon would name, in exchange for handsome castles and hunting domains in France, with liberal allowance for their maintenance, and the enjoyment of every luxury and pleasure of the kind to which they were most addicted.

The terms of these negotiations were defined in the following treaty, which was signed by the Prince of Peace, representing the royal family of Spain, and by the Grand-Marshal Duroc on behalf of the Emperor:

"Charles IV., recognizing the impossibility that he and his family should secure the peace of Spain, resigns the

crown, of which he declares himself the sole legitimate possessor, to Napoleon, that he may dispose of it as it shall seem good to him. He resigns it to him on the following conditions:

"I. The integrity of the soil of Spain and of its colonies, no portion whatsoever of which shall be severed.

"II. The preservation of the Catholic faith as the dominant religion, to the exclusion of every other.

"III. That Charles IV. shall for his life, have the chateau and forests of Compiègne, and the chateau of Chambord in perpetuity, together with a civil list of 30,000,000 reals (9,500,000 francs) to be paid by the treasury of France.

"IV. A proportionable revenue for all the princes of the royal family."

Ferdinand VII., however, signed a treaty in his own behalf, by which Napoleon secured to him the chateau of Navarre, with a net revenue of 1,000,000 francs, besides 400,000 francs for each of the Infants, on condition of their common renunciation of the crown of Spain.

All of them remained in France, grateful friends and devoted to the Emperor, till the approaching fall of the Empire induced Napoleon to restore Ferdinand VII. to Spain and his throne.

No sooner had Ferdinand VII. been fairly seated on his throne than he deprived the Prince of Peace, whom he bitterly hated, of all his titles and dignities, confiscated all his estates and banished him from Spain. The old King Charles IV., enfeebled by age, was unwilling to enter upon a struggle to resume the crown he had been forced to abdicate; having already chosen Rome

as a place of residence with the Queen Louisa Maria, during the few years remaining to them both, and having, as always, the happiness of their beloved Manuel's presence to comfort and cheer them, asked nothing else. The gossip of Rome as to the manner of their life would serve no useful purpose and need not be repeated here; Roman society accepted the open, undisguised relationship between the Queen and the Prince of Peace, so warmly approved by the old King himself, and accorded to all of them its homage, feeling, indeed, so much pride in the entry of royalty into its ranks that a mere peccadillo like the Queen's infatuation for her favourite was not merely excusable in an exalted royal personage, but was regarded as in no wise improper, in a capital where the services of a *cavalier serviente* were treated as a personal privilege belonging to every married woman who chose to enjoy them!

So, it came about that one of the greatest noble families in Rome, that of Prince Ruspoli, was proud to contract a marriage in the year 1820, between its eldest son, and the daughter of Manuel Godoy by Maria Theresa de Bourbon, whom he had espoused, it will be recalled, while also favourite to the Queen of Spain, by the express wish of the King; but, in fact, it has been asserted with much appearance of truth, that this marriage of Godoy to the niece of Charles IV. was really forced upon him by the Queen, who, fearing to lose him amid such temptations as the court of Madrid offered to his desires, and conscious of the almost twenty years between their ages, as, alas! of her own fading charms, determined to use this method of binding him thus to the royal family by an indissoluble tie.

Dona Josefa Tudo and her partisans always strongly

insisted that she was in fact the lawfully wedded wife of the Prince of Peace before his marriage to the niece of Charles IV. and the matter appears never to have been freed from doubt. It is certain that she was not repudiated like the others, but enjoyed the fullest rights of residence and protection for herself and children as has already been pointed out.

However, this cloud upon the legitimacy of Godoy's daughter did not at all interfere with her marriage to the young scion of the princely house of Ruspoli. In any case, the young Princess Maria Theresa de Bourbon was the daughter of Don Luis de Bourbon, brother to the former King of Spain, had been espoused to the Prince of Peace, and nothing more on the subject of the legitimacy of her offspring, would be considered.

But the sands of life were nearly run for both the old King and his fast-aging Queen. The devotion to Manuel Godoy never changed, and in the last years there was something pathetic in the manner in which they clung to him, the beloved of both! Seemingly all they had lost was small in comparison with the joy of still having him with them, to share whatever they possessed. The end came for both Charles IV. and Louisa Maria with tragic suddenness in the month of January, 1819, their deaths occurring within ten days of each other.

With those two faithful, devoted ones gone, a great void came in life for Don Manuel Godoy, who was thenceforth not merely a man without a country but one without a home. At fifty-two and after a past like his, life could hold no more illusions, nor, indeed any real object for him. Having sounded the gamut of human passion and delight, under conditions such as have been vouchsafed to few, if to any, at all approach-

ing his own unparalleled career of gilded lust in Spain's highest and noblest circles, with the power, riches and luxury of a great Kingdom at his disposal for twenty years—with what feelings of regret, of isolation, must this now homeless wanderer have turned away from those two sepulchres, in which, he must have felt, were entombed, along with those faithful ones, not merely his own past, but his power ever again to be, or to enact, a part in the elevated sphere of the rulers of earth! Banished now in a double sense from his regal surroundings, Rome became intolerable to this *blasé* voluptuary, who, no longer having wealth, finally fixed upon Paris as a place of residence, where tolerance for departed greatness has always been most generous.

In the kaleidoscopic, gay life of that most cosmopolitan of all cities, the former "King of the Algarves," strove to adapt himself to his new conditions of life, to forget some of the past, and, meanwhile, to find the means to exist through the long vista of thirty-two years he was still to traverse—alone! After much effort, this once possessor of great wealth, was glad to secure from King Louis Philippe of France, the modest pension of 5,000 francs a year.

In 1847, long after his memoirs, defending his administration, had been written by himself, his titles and most of his estates were restored to him, with permission to return to Spain; but, he preferred, in his old age, living in Paris, to a return to Madrid or Badajoz, to be constantly vainly reminded, amid those surroundings, of the haunting memories of his early career.

His death occurred at Paris, October 4, 1851, at the advanced age of eighty-four years—much more than time enough, however, for him to see illustrated, in his



own ignoble career, the awful irony of Fate in shaping the destinies of the greatest empires—of humanity itself—upon the mere vulgar fancy of a dissolute woman, for an obscure private in the ranks of her bodyguards!—and forty-five years after his memorable proclamation of October 5, 1806, inviting the Spanish nation to make a treacherous attack upon his ally Napoleon, was first made known to the latter on the battlefield of Jena, with results so tremendous for Spain—for France—for all Europe, for *this* was the first sparkle, and *his* the hand, which lighted the terrible conflagration in the Spanish Peninsula, that ultimately changed the destinies of the world.



## MARSHAL MURAT AND THE SPANISH THRONE

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### ORIGIN OF THE SPANISH INTRIGUES

In the month of February, 1806, shortly after Mr. Fox had resigned his leadership in Parliament, to accept the post of Prime Minister of Great Britain, made vacant by the death of that other great British statesman, Mr. Pitt, from despair, caused by the overthrow at Austerlitz of his most cherished hopes and plans—a desperate abandoned French emigrant having succeeded in procuring a private interview with him, proposed to that high-minded minister to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon, if the English government would lend its assistance with money and otherwise, and at the same time disclosing his ability to actually accomplish it. Dismissing him from his presence, Mr. Fox had the would-be assassin apprehended, and immediately notified the French government of this atrocious design upon the life of its ruler, whom he himself had visited at Paris during the Peace of Amiens, with a resultant high mutual admiration and personal esteem between the great Consul and the greatest debater that even the English Parliament had ever produced.

M. de Talleyrand, Prime Minister of France, made most courteous, grateful acknowledgment of this upright proceeding; and referring to Mr. Fox himself as “one

of the men who seem expressly made to feel the really grand and beautiful in all things," he concluded his note by repeating a declaration of Napoleon to the Senate, upon the state of the Empire, that he would always be ready to renew negotiations for peace with England upon the basis of the Treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox thereupon rejoined, in similar courteous friendly terms, that he was inspired with the same sentiments.

And thus, early in the spring of that year, commenced new negotiations, founded upon feelings of mutual esteem on the part of the powers engaged in it, with the reservation upon the part of England, however, that its ally Russia should be made a party to them jointly, unless the Tsar should see fit to conclude a separate peace, in which event England would feel at liberty to take the same course.

By a decree of the Emperor Napoleon, dated March 30th, 1806, it had been declared that, "The interests of our crown, the tranquillity of the Continent of Europe, require that we should secure in a stable and definite manner the fate of the people of Naples and Sicily, fallen into our power by the right of conquest, and forming part of the great Empire: we therefore declare our well-beloved brother Joseph, King of the Two Sicilies." But only the capital and mainland of Naples had come into his actual possession, the exiled Bourbons having taken refuge in the Island of Sicily, which was effectually protected against French descents by the presence of a large force of British troops and a fleet under Vice-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith,—too powerful and efficient for the French squadron at Toulon to venture to risk an encounter.

In consequence, Napoleon used every effort in the en-

suings negotiations with both England and Russia to secure their consent to his possession of Sicily, in return for an adequate territorial and monetary indemnity to the dethroned dynasty of Naples. At this time Spain was in close alliance with France, and would, of course, profit by any peace concluded by its ally with England and Russia, but it was not a participant in these negotiations, strange to say.

Nevertheless, the Emperor, in his anxiety to conclude peace with those two formidable powers, took it upon himself, without even asking the consent of Spain, to offer to the Neapolitan Bourbons, in exchange for their rights in the Two Sicilies, in favour of his brother, King Joseph I., the Balearic Isles—*belonging to Spain*—and, an annual payment of a large sum in money—*likewise to be borne by Spain!* A high-handed proceeding, which naturally excited the most violent indignation in Spain, which, also, strongly resented its exclusion from any participation in the negotiations themselves. But, in the view of the Emperor, the conclusion of a general peace, settling all issues in the present war, was the one paramount question; the pride and even the injuries, of his Spanish ally much less important, and, besides, capable of being soothed afterwards by various means at his command.

After several months of fruitless efforts to reconcile the differences of the contending powers, these negotiations, which at first had promised such good results, were finally broken off, and England and Russia, strengthened now by the accession of Prussia to their side, with its large, highly-trained—some said, over-trained—army, once more renewed active hostilities against France upon a greater scale than ever.

The Russian ambassador at Madrid, Baron Strogonoff, taking advantage of the intense irritation he witnessed on all sides there over the French Emperor's unauthorized offer to give away Spanish territory and subsidies, strongly represented to the Spaniards the impolicy of continuing any longer an alliance with a power which would sacrifice its allies to propitiate its enemies; under the influence of such feelings at Madrid, a convention was secretly concluded between the Prince of Peace, on the part of Spain, and the Russian ambassador, in which Portugal also joined, by which it was agreed that as soon as the French armies should be engaged in the heart of Germany, the two Peninsula powers, aided by a powerful British army, which should land in Spain, were to cross the Pyrenees and invade the almost defenceless provinces of the South of France, then nearly stripped of troops for the German war.

The whole of these secret negotiations was made known to the French foreign office, through the alertness of the French ambassador at Madrid, M. Beauharnais. In the preceding Paper, relating to the Prince of Peace, has been noticed the premature publication of his imprudent proclamation of October 5, 1806, inviting the Spanish nation to take up arms, under the belief that the French emperor, now hated as well as feared, was marching to certain defeat and ruin at the hands of Prussia, and which he himself intended to augment to the uttermost of his power—also, the instant disavowal, by both Spain and Portugal, of the slightest hostile intent against France, upon hearing of the annihilation of Prussia in the fatal double-battle of Jena-Auerstaedt on the 14th of October, but little more than a week after the defiant address of October 5th appeared—when,

terrified by what they had even dared to think of doing, the Peninsula powers had begged to be permitted to show their innocence and loyalty, by conforming to any demands whatsoever the incensed French emperor might see fit to make upon them. And, finally, the demands for their best troops he did make for service in Germany and have complied with, with the utmost alacrity.

Such was the state of affairs between France on the one side, and the two really hostile Peninsula powers on the other, when the memorable victory over the Russians at Friedland on the 14th of June, 1807, brought the Prussian and Polish campaigns to a triumphant conclusion, and, followed by the Treaty of Tilsit with Russia and Prussia of July 7th and 9th, once more led to peace over the whole of the Continent.

Once more, overtures of peace were made by France to Great Britain, which, however, being unassailable from its omnipotence at sea haughtily rejected them, and continued the struggle alone ready to take advantage of any openings which might be found or created, to attack or injure a foe, who, upon his own element, the land, absolutely seemed beyond the reach of successful attack.

But the meditated dangerous attack upon his rear by a combined British, Spanish and Portuguese invasion, across his weakened frontier of the Pyrenees, from which he was saved only by early and decisive success over Prussia, produced a very great impression upon the Emperor Napoleon, who, after profoundly meditating upon the course he ought to adopt for his own security against such treacherous foes, finally reached the fixed determination that the Houses of Bourbon and Braganza

should cease to reign, and be replaced by princes who would be friendly to France.

The amicable interview between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander of Russia, on the 25th of June, 1807, only eleven days after the Battle of Friedland, upon the celebrated Raft of Tilsit, moored for the purpose upon the broad bosom of the River Niemen, along the shores of which the opposing hosts of France and Russia were arrayed to witness—did more than result simply in a glorious Continental peace and vast increase of power to the French Empire: it led directly to the fatal determination of the French emperor to adopt a course in the Spanish Peninsula, which, though designed to secure his rear from attack, was, in fact, to result in a frightful struggle of six years against the combined powers of Great Britain, Spain and Portugal: and which, by thus employing and consuming the strength of almost the half of the forces of the Empire in those remote regions, were to render the other half—when the Grand Army should lie buried beneath the snows of Russia—unable to make head against the combined armies of Europe arrayed against France, with the resistless navy of Great Britain assailing every exposed point along the immense coast line it had to defend, extending from the mouth of the Vistula and the rotting timber docks of Dantzic, in the Baltic Sea, around the territories of Denmark, along the Continent to the Straits of Gibraltar, and thence, along the shores of the Mediterranean and up the coasts of the Adriatic Sea, to the marble quays of Venice and Trieste.

Proof of Tilsit being the place where the purpose, though not the manner, of intervening in the Peninsula was determined upon is not wanting. General Savary,

French ambassador at St. Petersburg, says: "I have strong reasons to believe that the affair of Spain was arranged at Tilsit. Subsequently, at St. Petersburg, when the troubles commenced, the Emperor Alexander seemed no ways surprised at them, and not only expressed no jealousy at the entrance of the French troops into Spain, but never once mentioned the subject. And although Napoleon wrote to me every week from Paris, he never alluded to the subject; a silence which he certainly would not have preserved had everything not been previously arranged, especially considering how much he had at heart at that period to draw closer the bonds of the Russian alliance."

And the canon Escoiquiz, preceptor of Ferdinand VII. and, in fact, his chief adviser, has preserved a precious conversation with the French Emperor himself on that subject:

"There is but one power," said he, "which can disturb my views, and I have no fears in that quarter. *The Emperor of Russia, to whom I have communicated my projects on Spain, which were formed at that period, approved of them, and gave me his word of honour that he would throw no obstacles in the way.* The other powers will remain tranquil, and the resistance of the Spaniards will not be formidable. Believe me, the countries where monks have influence are not difficult to conquer."

Of the execution of these designs against Portugal, its invasion, the flight of the House of Braganza to Brazil, under the enforcement of the spoliating Treaty of Fontainebleau between France and Spain and the sudden loss of that rich country by the spoliators themselves, as the unlooked-for result of the Battle of



Vimiero, some account has already been given in the preceding Paper.

As early as the 12th of August, 1807, the Portuguese government had been formally summoned, in terms of the secret agreement at Tilsit, to declare war against England, adopt the Continental System and confiscate all the English property in that country. At the same time, the army of the Gironde, under General Junot which had been largely broken up during the Prussian war, reassembled at Bayonne, and was raised to 25,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry before the end of August in readiness to move upon Lisbon; the answer of Portugal to Napoleon's demands was the flight of its royal family and court to Brazil with its treasures of many millions in gold, silver, plate and jewels, just in time to escape capture by Junot's troops, whose artillery rushed to the quays and opened fire on the last of the receding Portuguese fleet and transports as they dropped down the Tagus to the Atlantic under the protection of an English fleet, ready for battle, commanded by Sir Sidney Smith.

England now prepared to send an army to attack the French forces in Portugal, and assembled other troops in large numbers in Sicily and at Gibraltar for other operations.

Referring again to the Treaty of Fontainebleau, ratified on the 27th of October, 1807, which the Prince of Peace and the Queen of Spain, his mistress, had been so anxious to negotiate, in order to secure the principality of Algarves as a refuge for themselves whenever the accession of their declared enemy, Ferdinand VII., as King of Spain should render a longer residence in Spain impossible for them, it had, also, been stipulated therein

that in exchange for the Kingdom of Etruria (better known as Tuscany) which was ceded to France, the northern provinces of Portugal, including the rich and populous city of Oporto, should be given to the King of Etruria, son-in-law to Charles IV., King of Spain, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania,—to revert like the Algarves, in default of heirs, to his most Catholic majesty of Spain, who, however, was not to unite it to the Spanish crown. Besides the army under Junot, which took possession of Lisbon and the central provinces of Portugal, two strong Spanish corps entered and occupied the northern and southern provinces, in conformity to the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

#### ASSEMBLY OF FRENCH FORCES TO ATTACK SPAIN

As an ostensible reserve for the army of the Gironde under Junot, which now became the army of Portugal, a second French army, 40,000 strong, was collected at Bayonne, to support Junot in case the English should send an army to Portugal, or threaten an attack upon it. But it was expressly provided, although not the slightest attention was paid to this stipulation, that this army of reserve at Bayonne *was on no account to enter Spain* without its consent.

The march of Junot's army across the territories of Spain, however, for the invasion of Portugal, and the passage of various French detachments back and forth, accustomed the Spanish authorities and people to their presence and movements in large numbers within their boundaries, and even within the walls of their fortified cities—a condition of things which was to afford a too fatal facility for the treacherous seizure by their friend

and ally, the French Emperor, of several of the most important frontier fortresses and cities of Spain, including San Sebastian, Vittoria, Burgos, Pampeluna, and even Barcelona, at the other extremity of the Pyrenees. The Prince of Peace and the Queen, hated and despised by all classes because of their shameless connection, felt that their own hold on power, and even their personal safety, now demanded powerful support from without, and turned anxiously to Paris to obtain it, at the price of implicit obedience to every demand upon unhappy Spain; thus, at last, obtaining what they had hoped would prove such an assurance in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, ratified, only after much effort, on the 27th of October, 1807.

*On the 11th of October, 1807*, acting under the advice of his counsellors, and entirely without the knowledge of the King or the Prince of Peace, Ferdinand, the Prince of the Asturias, the eldest son and heir to the throne, hated and hated by the King, the Queen and the Prince of Peace—had secretly communicated with the Emperor Napoleon, imploring of him the honour of an alliance with a princess of his family. "The world daily," said he, "more and more admires the goodness of the Emperor; and he might rest assured he would ever find in the Prince of the Asturias the most faithful and devoted son. He implored then, with the utmost confidence, the paternal protection of the Emperor, not only to permit him the honour of an alliance with his family, but that he would smooth away all difficulties, and cause all obstacles to disappear before the accomplishment of so long cherished a wish. That effort on the part of the Emperor was the more necessary, that he was incapable of making the smallest on his own part, as it would

infallibly be represented as an insult to the royal authority of his father; and all that he could do was to refuse, as he engaged to do, with invincible constancy, any proposals for an alliance which had not the consent of the Emperor, to whom he, the Prince, looked exclusively for the choice of his future queen."

## DESIGNS OF THE EMPEROR

With reference to his own designs upon Spain, three courses presented themselves to the Emperor's mind: the first, to attach Spain to himself by the marriage of a princess of the imperial family to Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, and by the overthrow of Godoy, the hated favourite of the Queen, without requiring of the Spanish people any concessions that would wound their pride or their interests; secondly, to grant all that has been mentioned, including the whole of Portugal in addition, but to require Spain to pay for it by ceding to France Catalonia, the territory north of the Ebro, and the joint possession of the Spanish colonies; thirdly, to dethrone the Bourbons, without asking any cession of territory, or commercial advantages, and be content with having bound the two countries together by a close alliance under a friendly dynasty.

The only princess of the Bonaparte family who would have been suitable, or, in fact, available for the marriage with the Prince of the Asturias, was a daughter of Lucien Bonaparte by his first marriage, who had been called to Paris from Rome, where Lucien then resided in a kind of exile, in order that she might not suffer by the estrangement of her uncle and father. Unfortunately, this young woman, who appears to have

possessed a good deal of character, intelligence, and some share of beauty, but brought up in Rome, and often hearing bitter words against her kindred at Paris, who seemed not to care for a distant and forgotten brother in exile—had not brought to Paris such sentiments as it was desirable that she should have done.

Placed in the suite of the empress-mother, her grandmother, she had been regarded with severity, and by her aunts, all of whom were married, and distinguished by the levity and looseness of their conduct, she had been treated with coldness and neglect. The Emperor, in view of the possibility that he might send her to share the throne of Spain, and desirous of ascertaining whether she entertained such feelings as would accord with his policy, directed that she should be closely watched, and that her correspondence should be read at the post-office. In pursuance of these orders, letters were seized in which the young woman opened her mind without reserve concerning her severe grandmother, and, in particular, her foolish aunts, whose conduct she presented in the most unfavourable light; even "Uncle Napoleon" himself, was rather severely dealt with.

It is related that when these letters were presented to the Emperor, he smiled maliciously, and immediately called a family meeting of his mother, his brothers and his sisters at the Tuileries, to hear them read, and treated with ironical mirth the outbursts of hysterical rage on the part of the ladies, whose lightness of conduct, silly affectations and vanities, had been treated with appalling candor in the intercepted correspondence! Of course, these frank revelations of her real sentiments towards her imperial uncle and his entire family, rendered it clear that she could not be trusted, and there was, in conse-

quence, nothing to be done but to pack the young lady off promptly to her family in Rome.

There was then no princess of the Bonaparte family left to be given to Spain, even though he had decided in favour of his first contemplated course. The second alternative course was finally renounced as impracticable, or, at least, as too difficult to render it desirable to attempt. To overthrow the Bourbons, and substitute a member of his own family, was now the only course left to take.

Having taken a fixed resolution to dethrone the Bourbons, he was sensible that he must at length fix upon the means of accomplishing it, but the pretext to be given for such an act, without too deeply wounding the public feeling in Spain, in France itself, and in the rest of Europe, was the point that most embarrassed him, and upon which he had really hesitated; for, although he had considered the plan of a marriage and of appropriating a large Spanish territory to himself, yet, at bottom, he had always preferred as the safest, most direct, as well as the most honest course, to take nothing from Spain but her hostile dynasty, and her barbarism, leaving to her her colonies, her territory and her independence.

But the means were difficult to find, since the renewed, abject submission of the Spanish government to his will, afforded no present grounds of action.

But the sudden flight of the Braganzas to Brazil at this juncture, thereby leaving the throne of Portugal vacant, suggested a medium to him: this was to induce a similar flight, or attempt at flight, by the Bourbons to the Spanish Americas, thereby leaving the throne of Spain vacant.

Nothing would then be more simple than to declare to the deserted nation, that in place of a degenerate, cowardly dynasty, he would give a new, strong, regenerating dynasty from his own family, and cause Spain to share in all the greatness and glory of France, without having to undergo the wars the latter had had to sustain, in order to attain its present position. And he was not without hope that the Spanish nation, in its indignation at the fugitives, might, perhaps, itself award its vacant throne to him.

#### INTRIGUES AND STRIFE IN THE COURT AT MADRID

In the meanwhile, the animosities which had for so long distracted and embittered the opposing factions within the royal family and court at Madrid, were violently aroused when it was discovered that the Prince of the Asturias had *secretly* made overtures of marriage with a French princess, to the Emperor. By order of the King, he was at once arrested, and a seal put on all his papers. He was confined in his rooms at the Escorial as a prisoner, while his papers were being examined; among them was discovered one document, in the handwriting of the Prince, blank in date, and with *a black seal*, making his intimate friend, the Duke del Infantado, "Governor-General of New Castile, and commander of all the troops within its bounds, *in the event of the King's death.*"

Aside from this paper, nothing else was found that was in any way incriminatory, but it was enough for the Prince of Peace and his faction to use in their purpose to destroy Ferdinand and his advisers, as it made the Prince of Peace and the Queen clearly perceive their

own danger whenever he should mount the throne. And so, the old King, excited and urged on by them, issued a proclamation the next day, charging the Prince of the Asturias with having engaged in a conspiracy for the dethronement and death of his father, and ordering the prosecution and trial of all his advisers.

At the same time, the terrified monarch wrote a full account of these charges to Napoleon, imploring his counsel and assistance in extricating him from the difficulties and dangers by which he was surrounded.

While the Emperor wished to get quit of both the father and the son, yet having had no hand in fomenting trouble between them, he said, upon reading the letters of Charles IV., "These are domestic concerns of the King of Spain; I will have nothing to do with them." The Prince of the Asturias now becoming alarmed for his life, showed his father and mother, in a private conference, a copy of his letter to Napoleon, and also revealed to them the fact that his friend, the French ambassador himself, was not only privy to what he had done, but was strongly inclined to the marriage.

This disclosure acted like a charm, and instantly stilled the aggressive measures and fury of the Prince of Peace and his faction; ignorant of the extent of his relations with the Emperor, they dared not press the charges against the Prince of the Asturias any further. The matter was, therefore, hushed up; Ferdinand wrote contrite letters to the King and Queen, confessing that, "he had failed in his duty inasmuch as he should have taken no step without their concurrence," and throwing himself upon their mercy. Whereupon the King issued another proclamation, declaring to his astonished subjects that, "The voice of nature has disarmed the arm of ven-



geance; when a guilty party solicits pardon, the heart of a father cannot refuse it to a son. My son has disclosed the authors of the horrible plan which some wretches have put into his head; I pardon him, and shall receive him to favour when he has given proofs of sincere amendment." The trial of the Prince's advisers went on, but resulted in their entire acquittal three months afterward, to the general joy of the public, who regarded the Prince of Peace as the real instigator.

Napoleon was secretly rejoiced to see the father and son thus envenomed against each other, and saw in it the means of forwarding his own designs to dispossess them both. It was not long before he took the first steps to carry this resolution into effect.

The army of 40,000 men provided for at Bayonne under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, but which was not to cross the frontier without the consent of Spain, was suddenly raised to 60,000; and, without any authority to do so, began to cross the Pyrenees, and march, not towards Lisbon but Madrid. One corps of 28,000 men with forty guns, under General Dupont, crossed the Bidassoa, and marched to Valladolid where it halted and established headquarters early in January, 1808: a second corps of 25,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and forty guns, under Marshal Moncey, soon followed, while General Duhesme, with 14,000 infantry and cavalry and twenty cannon entered Catalonia from Perpignan, and took the road to Barcelona.

As the presence of such large forces of French troops moving towards the capital must soon excite public sentiment still more against the Prince of Peace, his adherents felt obliged to explain, and ascribe it to the design of Napoleon to drive the English from Gibraltar; it was

further said by them that the French army would consist of at least 80,000 men, that the Prince of Peace would command it in person, and that consequently people need not be alarmed on that subject. To render the presence of the French troops still more natural, Napoleon instructed his ambassador at Madrid to communicate to the Spanish government the most alarming intelligence of the assemblage of British troops at Gibraltar, which was, in fact, taking place, with nearly all the troops in Sicily, and the troops who had returned from the expedition against Copenhagen to Portugal.

While Napoleon's troops were thus to advance mysteriously upon Madrid, with friendly words for the Spanish people, but none for the reigning family, he set his diplomatic intrigues in motion with the same mystery as to his real intentions: thus, while his ambassador was incessantly applying at Paris for instructions against a catastrophe which appeared imminent, he was left to play the ridiculous part of being absolutely ignorant of those intentions.

In place of disclosing these, the Emperor directed that he should be instructed to observe the strictest neutrality between the factions at Madrid, to show no marks of interest for any of them, to answer simply, when asked concerning the dispositions of the Emperor of the French towards the factions there, "*that he was displeased, extremely displeased, without saying at what*"—which the unhappy ambassador could well conceal, since he did not know himself—to add, if anything was said to him concerning the movements of French armies, that Gibraltar, Cadiz, probably required a concentration of troops, for the English were bringing large forces towards that point; but, that the Spanish cabinet was so indiscreet

that it could not be trusted with the secret of a single military operation.

The vague and, necessarily, uncertain meaning of the answers made by the French ambassador M. Beauharnais, to inquiries from the anxious Spanish ministry, coupled with the continued alarming movements of large bodies of French troops towards the capital, began to inspire fear in the court, which increased with the ignorance of the extent of the dangers which were now felt to be impending. So great had become the moral ascendancy of Napoleon over the minds of men, that even the suggestion of his displeasure excited general dread.

#### TREACHEROUS SEISURE OF THE FRONTIER FORTRESSES

Shortly after entering Spain the French began making themselves masters of the most important fortified places, by means of stratagems, which, unworthy in themselves, were attended with surprising success. Early in February, General d'Armagnac arrived with his division of infantry before Pampeluna, and begged leave from the governor to lodge a couple of battalions in the barracks of the Spanish troops inside the citadel; and when this was refused, remained some days in the town, on the most friendly terms with the Spanish garrison and inhabitants, for whose amusement, upon the order of their general, several thousands of his soldiers, taking advantage of a heavy fall of snow, engaged in a mimic battle by playing at snow-ball with one another, all the while drawing nearer and nearer to the drawbridge and open gate of the citadel; such was the novelty of this display, and the fury shown by these Frenchmen in this battle of snow-balls, in which blood even flowed freely

from the heavy strokes as the two sides charged each other with loud hourras, amid clouds of snow-balls, that it excited the garrison and inhabitants, who had rushed to witness it, quite as much as a first-class bull-fight might have done, and while the attention of the Spanish guards at the drawbridge was thus distracted, three hundred chosen French soldiers, with their arms concealed under their great-coats, suddenly dashed from the midst of the thronging masses in their warlike game, ran quickly through the gate, and were in possession of the strong citadel before the astonished garrison could attempt any defense.

The next morning a proclamation from the French general appeared, beseeching the Spanish authorities and inhabitants of "the noble city of Pampeluna" to "consider this as only a trifling change, incapable of disturbing the harmony which ought to subsist between two faithful allies!"

The important fortress of St. Sebastian fell even more easily. By permission, it had become the general hospital depot for the French troops who were passing into Spain, but its governor, having his suspicions aroused at the great increase in numbers, as well as at the evident good health of the alleged "invalids," communicated his fears to the Prince of Peace, with a request for instructions, in which the Captain-general of Guipuzcoa joined, and received this answer:

"Let the governor give up the place, since he has not the means of resisting, but let him do so in an amicable manner, as has been done in other places, where there were even fewer reasons or grounds for excuse than in the case of Saint Sebastians."

And to similar requests for instructions how to act

from the commanders in the north, his instructions were :

“Receive the French well; they are our allies; they come to us as friends.” It was the fear of losing his own promised Kingdom of the Algarves, which induced this shameful betrayal of the interests of Spain by the Prince of Peace, who, after all his disgraceful surrenders to France, was never destined to enjoy it.

Vittoria, Burgos and Barcelona were likewise secured by the French troops through treacherous means, at which many of the upright officers, obliged to participate in such seizures expressed their outspoken disgust and anger. But the Emperor was overjoyed at the easy acquisition, without the loss of a single man, of these keys of Spain, commanding the three great roads by Biscay, Navarre and Barcelona, across the only passes of the Pyrenees practicable for an invading army, and which were more than equivalent to the fruits of two successful campaigns. Large French garrisons were at once placed in these important fortresses; their batteries fully armed, ditches cleared, and arsenals filled; the monasteries were converted into barracks, and the monks who had so long occupied them turned adrift.

And, thus, before a shot had been fired, the whole of Spain north of the Ebro, was in the possession of Napoleon, and his armies solidly established along the great roads leading to Madrid and Lisbon.

Foreseeing that he would be obliged to direct the war in person, if war should break out, or direct political affairs, if the Bourbons should abandon Spain as the Braganzas had Portugal, he despatched to the Spanish frontier, several detachments of chosen troops, to act as his personal escort, consisting of the Polish lancers of the Guard, the Mamelukes, a regiment of fusileers,

and some squadrons of horse-grenadiers and chasseurs, amounting in all to 3,000 men. Pending his own arrival, it was necessary to give to his armies in Spain a commander-in-chief, a position which would, also, necessarily require other than simply military qualities in dealing with the Spanish government, in the delicate and difficult situation already at hand.

MARSHAL MURAT APPOINTED LIEUTENANT OF THE  
EMPEROR IN SPAIN

It is not intended to give here the biography of Marshal Murat, but his remarkable personality appears worthy of delineation. Napoleon, than whom there could be no more capable judge upon such a question, said of him, that, "In battle, he was probably the bravest man in the world."

Murat was so different from all his contemporaries, that his romantic valour seems rather to belong to the chivalric age of steel and armour, than to that of cannons and gun-powder. It has been said of him that he "invested battle in a sort of glory in itself—threw an air of romance about it all, and doubtless fought frequently almost in an imaginary world."

He commanded the French cavalry at the Battle of Mt. Thabor, and in describing it said: "In the hottest of this terrible fight I thought of Christ, and his Transfiguration upon this very spot, nearly two thousand years ago, and the reflection inspired me with ten-fold courage and strength." This, as has been observed, throws a flood of light on Murat's character, and shows that visions of glory often rose before him in battle, giving to his whole movement and aspect a greatness and dignity

that could not be assumed. O'Meara relates that, "Such was his passion for danger, that he used to challenge the most distinguished Cossack warriors to single combat: and when he had vanquished them, he would give them their liberty, often accompanied by a gold chain, which he took from around his neck, or one of the richly jeweled watches which he always had on his person." In Egypt he out-rode, out-fought and astonished the incomparable Mameluke horsemen by his incredible daring, and coolness in danger.

This chivalric Paladin, with the words, "Honour and the Ladies," engraved on the blade of his sword, indulged a magnificence which bordered upon the fantastic, in his military dress and adornment: without a rival in this respect, in his own age, his only rival and prototype since then, has been the heroic, superbly adorned General Skobeleff, the admiration and inspiration of the Russian armies, who lost his life some score of years ago, as the result of an accident, after facing a thousand chances of death upon the field of battle. And a kindred spirit may be recognized in the daring General J. E. B. Stewart, commander of the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia till his untimely death in battle.

As Murat has been described, Nature did much for the physical man: his form was tall, finely proportioned and possessed of great muscular power and activity. His face was striking and noble, while few men could bear his piercing glance. His heavy black side-whiskers strikingly contrasted with his fine blue eyes: his abundant black locks spread over the neck of a splendid Polish dress, open above the shoulders: the collar was richly adorned with gold brocade, and from a belt of the same material hung a sword, straight in the blade, after the manner

of the ancient Roman, with the hilt set in diamonds. Wide pantaloons, scarlet or purple in colour, richly embroidered in gold, and boots of yellow leather, completed this singular costume. But its greatest distinction was a large three-cornered hat, surmounted by a profusion of white ostrich feathers, rising from a broad gold band, which enclosed, besides, a superb heron plume. His noble chargers were set off with gorgeous bridle and stirrups, richly gilt after the Mameluke fashion, and enveloped in trappings of azure blue, the tint of the Italian sky, which was also the prevailing colour of his liveries. Above this dazzling attire, he wore, in cold weather, a magnificent pelisse of dark-green velvet, lined and fringed with the richest sables.

When he rode beside Napoleon, habited after his simple fashion, in this theatrical costume, it was said that, "It appeared a living image of splendid folly contrasting with the naked majesty of thought."

But it was also observed, that with whatever sentiments this fantastic magnificence of Marshal Joachim Murat might be regarded on parade grounds, they yielded to admiration and respect when his white plume was seen, like that of Alexander the Great, ever foremost in the ranks of war, plunging into the thickest of the hostile ranks, regardless of the shower of cannon-balls for which it formed a never-failing mark; or when he was beheld returning from a charge, his sabre dripping wet with the blood of the Cossacks whom, in the impetuosity of overflowing courage, he had challenged and slain in single combat.

When the French army was about to enter Moscow, Murat, looking at his soiled and battle-worn dress, declared it unbecoming so great an occasion as the tri-



umphal entry of the Grand Army into the ancient capital of Russia. He retired, therefore, to his tent, and soon emerged dressed in his most magnificent costume. At the head of his fine squadrons, he advanced to the walls of the city, and concluded an armistice with the Russians for the evacuation of Moscow, through which their shattered wrecks from the disastrous battle-field of Borodino were already retiring, to begin anew their heroic struggle for Russian independence.

A strong rear-guard still remained without the walls facing the French. As he galloped forward upon his high-spirited steed, the wild hordes of Cossacks sent up shouts of applause for him. Those brave, semi-barbarous warriors had never seen a man that would compare with the great French cavalry leader in the splendour of his garb, the beauty of his horsemanship, and more than all his incredible daring in battle and power in wielding the sabre. Murat remained two hours in the midst of his new admirers, who pressed around him in crowds, even naming him their Hetman, so delighted were they with his courage and generosity. He was so much pleased at their homage, in his turn, that he distributed among them all the money he had, and all that he could borrow from the officers about him, and finally his watch, and then the watches of his friends.

Although, in general, ready to yield in his opinions to the views of the Emperor, he strongly opposed the march to Moscow, after the capture of the city of Smolensko, pointing to the lateness of the season, and the ruin that must result to the army, if persisted in. A violent scene took place between them, leading to a deliberate attempt of the latter to get himself killed, which is thus related:

"Bonaparte, more passionate than usual, because Murat had the right of it, as he had, a few days before when he besought him not to assault Smolensko because the Russians would evacuate it of their own accord, made some reply, which was heard only by the latter, but which stung him so to the quick that he simply replied, 'A march to Moscow will be the destruction of the army,' and spurred his horse straight into the fire of a Russian battery. Bonaparte had touched him in some sore spot, and he determined to wipe out the disgrace by his death. He ordered all his guard to leave him, and dismounting from his magnificent steed, with his piercing gaze turned full on the battery, stood calmly awaiting the ball that should shatter him. At length casting his eye round, he saw General Belliard still by his side. He asked him why he did not withdraw. 'Every man,' he replied, 'is master of his own life, and as your majesty seems determined to make an end of your own, I must be allowed to fall beside you.' This fidelity and devotion struck the generous heart of Murat, and he mounted his horse and galloped out of the fire. The affection of a single man could conquer him, whom the enemy seemed unable to overcome. His own life was nothing, but the life of a friend was surpassingly dear to him."

Yet the Emperor had a high opinion of Murat's military abilities, and often consulted him upon the disposition of troops for battle, the lay of ground and the probable effects of intended movements. He always commanded the cavalry of the army with consummate skill, usually having from 15,000 to 20,000 under him, but in the campaign of 1812 in Russia he commanded all the cavalry of the Grand Army, numbering 80,000 men.

Murat was neither a politician nor a diplomatist, and in sending such a man to be his Lieutenant in Spain, the Emperor did not intend to make him acquainted with his real intentions respecting the political aspect of Spanish affairs. He had had him by his side in a recent journey to Italy, and at Paris, without uttering a single word to Murat about his plans as to Spain, at the very time when he was thinking of them the most.

#### MURAT ORDERED TO SPAIN

On the 20th of February, 1808, having seen Marshal Murat in the course of the day without saying a word to him about the mission which he had destined for him, Napoleon directed the minister of war to make him set out that very night for Bayonne, to assume command of all the troops entering Spain. He was to be in Bayonne the 26th and to find there his instructions.

These instructions, which were very full and clear as to the movements and conduct of the troops in Spain, the seizure of the frontier fortresses, and the gradual advance of one of his *corps d'armee* along the great road leading towards Madrid, also enjoined upon him the following course of action: "Not to seek, not to accept of communication with the court of Spain, without having a formal order; not to answer any letter from the Prince of Peace; to say, in case of being questioned in such a manner as not to be able to keep silence, that the French troops were entering Spain for a purpose known to Napoleon alone, a purpose certainly advantageous to the cause of Spain and of France; to pronounce vaguely the words Cadiz, Gibraltar, without saying anything positive; to publish on reaching Burgos an order of the day,

recommending to the troops the strictest discipline and the most fraternal relations with the generous Spanish people, the friend and ally of the French people; never to mix up with all these protestations of friendship any other name than that of the Spanish people, and never to mention King Charles IV. or his government, under any form whatever."

As Consul and as Emperor, Napoleon had bestowed many honours and rewards upon Murat. He went up from General of Brigade to General of Division, Commander of the National Guard, then he was made Marshal of France, Grand Admiral, Prince of the Empire, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour and finally Grand-Duke of Berg and Cleves.

But Murat, having borne a distinguished part in the wars in Italy, Egypt, Austria, Prussia, and Poland, and helped to erect thrones at Paris, Naples, Florence, The Hague, Milan, Cassel, and Warsaw, without ever gaining one for himself, although he was brother-in-law to the Emperor, whose youngest and brightest sister, Caroline, had been bestowed upon him in marriage eight years before,—now felt much discontent at being still only a grand-duke, which feeling his ambitious wife constantly fanned by her complaints, and insistence for the regal dignity.

Murat had taken a great fancy to the Poles and was in turn admired almost as much by them, as he was by the Cossacks, and for the same reasons; he was inconsolable for not receiving the crown of Poland, and now welcomed the prospect of another war which might offer fresh chances of reigning. The throne of Portugal

was already vacant from the flight of its occupants to Brazil, and he knew that of Spain to be tottering.

To send him to the Peninsula was, therefore, inviting him to a feast. True, his brother-in-law had made him no promises, but he could not doubt that a throne lay behind his mission to Spain, and welcomed the order to act as Lieutenant of the Emperor, which placed him but a single step from the Spanish throne, to which he now aspired as the summit of ambition and power.

Brave and generous as Murat was, if he was required to hasten the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty, by means even not the most creditable, he was the man to undertake the commission. There was nothing to be feared on his part but too much zeal. And, more shrewd, more intelligent, than he has in general been deemed, he was quite capable (as he was about to prove) in an important interest of ambition, of being even discreet and reserved.

#### MACHINATIONS AT PARIS AND TERROR AT MADRID

The Emperor having determined to avoid violence with the timid Spanish Court, it was necessary to impel it to imitate the example of flight of the Braganzas, which he knew to be already under consideration at Madrid, by still further working upon its fears. All at once he ordered the Spanish ambassador, the Count Yzquierdo (who was already much alarmed over the strange attitude and actions of France towards his country) to be treated with extreme harshness, which, accordingly was done, with noticeable effect. In order to impel him to set out for Madrid, where his disclosures of impending trouble could not fail to have a great effect, the Grand-Marshal Duroc had orders to write to M. Yzquierdo that "he

would do well to return immediately to Madrid, *to disperse the thick clouds which had arisen between the two courts.*" It was not said *what* clouds; but M. Yzquierdo took the hint, leaving Paris the same day, and posting at the utmost speed to Madrid, with the evil tidings he bore.

Thus, there was reason to believe, that when the already terrified court of Spain should see Murat, at the head of a powerful army, advancing upon Madrid and refusing to offer any explanations, the French ambassador, M. Beauharnais, saying nothing because he knew nothing and M. Yzquierdo saying much because he feared much—that it would no longer hesitate to set out for Cadiz.

This then, Napoleon conceived, would be the true way to overturn the Bourbons without the actual violence which, in other times, conquerors had never hesitated to commit. He hoped that, on giving a slight shake to the Spanish throne, he might cause the weak Charles IV., his guilty wife, and her cowardly favourite, to forsake it in order to seek another in the New World.

But this plan involved another danger so serious, namely, the certain loss to Spain of her great possessions in America, as Portugal had just lost hers, that he determined not to allow the flight of the Bourbons to go farther than to attempt to embark at Cadiz, and meanwhile, to secure possession of the vacant throne at Madrid for his own disposal. In consequence, he sent off to Admiral Rosilly, who then lay at Cadiz with a French squadron, a despatch in cipher, dated February 21st, the existence of which he should disclose to no one whatsoever, containing an express order to "take such a position in the harbour of Cadiz as to prevent the departure

of any vessel, and *to stop the fugitive royal family, if it should imitate the folly of the court of Lisbon.*"

Prior to the Revolution of Aranjuez, that is to say, before the enforced abdication of Charles IV., by his son Ferdinand VII., Napoleon had not disclosed his real intentions to any person. Not one of his own ministers was aware of it, and Murat, as has been seen, was totally ignorant of it.

His devious ways, and his duplicity in his course towards the Spanish court have been severely reprobated; but, in thus seeking to take what did not belong to him, it has been alleged in excuse, that thrones are a different thing from private property, as they are taken away or given by war or policy, and sometimes to the great advantage of the nations which are thus arbitrarily disposed of; that he felt that the Spanish nation, so proud, so generous, deserved a better fate than to be subjected to a degraded and incapable court; that once regenerated, it could render great service to France and to itself by assisting to overthrow the maritime tyranny of England, and emancipate the commerce of the world. That to interdict himself from all this for the sake of an imbecile king, of a lewd queen, of a contemptible favourite, could not be expected.

Marshal Murat had set out immediately for Bayonne as ordered and arrived there the 26th, from whence he despatched his aides in all directions to learn the position and state of the troops, to put himself into communication with them, to assume the direction of affairs.

The mystery observed in the instructions he received had hurt his vanity, but so clearly did he believe he per-

ceived their drift, and so much was he pleased with it, that he set to work to execute them punctually. He remained at Bayonne to introduce good order and direction there, to learn what had been executed, what delayed, that he might apprise the Emperor. He then set out for Vittoria, which he entered on the eleventh of March, in the carriage of the bishop, who, with all the authorities of the country, had hastened to meet him, and a brilliant reception was given to the general who had become a grand-duke, and would soon be a king.

The French troops were treated as friends: they observed strict discipline, paid for all they had, and were an advantage to the country. Murat having announced that the supplies for the army would be paid for by France, the Biscayan authorities answered, with Castilian pride, that they received the French as allies, as friends, and that Spanish hospitality was never paid for.

Illusions were thus created which were reciprocal. While the Biscayans, half-Spaniards as they are termed, were thus giving such a favourable reception to the French troops and their illustrious chief, the latter was led to believe that everything would be easy in Spain, that a French king would be accepted with joy, and with still more joy if that king were himself.

Struck by the universal hatred manifested against the Prince of Peace, he soon perceived that his support for his own ambitious designs upon the Spanish throne would be of no value, and that to obtain the popular favour he must, on the contrary, let it be understood that he had come to overthrow him. From Vittoria Murat proceeded to Burgos, where he had been instructed to establish his headquarters, and was again well received.

No sooner had Murat entered Spain than two succes-



sive letters from the Prince of Peace, who had some time before established a correspondence with him, came to congratulate him on his arrival and to question him, but the fear of having now any relations with one so unpopular, and still more the fear of disobeying Napoleon's instructions not to answer letters from him, caused them to remain unanswered.

But the civil, ecclesiastical and military authorities which hastened around him to see and to entertain him, were all anxious for some explanations as to his presence and intentions. His vexation at finding himself in the midst of this tumult with only military instructions was extreme, but he did not fail to write the Emperor a detailed report on the state of the troops, on their diseases (no less than 17,000 of the unfortunate young conscripts being in the hospitals with the *itch*, contracted in the huts and villages since their arrival in Spain and also of the precaution he had taken of ordering the imperial guard to bivouac in the open air to protect them from it), on their favourable reception by the Spaniards, on the extreme unpopularity of the Prince of Peace, on the enthusiasm for Napoleon, on the facility of doing what one would in Spain, but, also, on the necessity of knowing what one purposed to do, and on the embarrassment of being left without instructions to meet the events that were preparing.

"I conceived, sire," he wrote, "after so many years of service and attachment, that I had deserved your confidence, and, invested above all, with the command of your troops, that I ought to know to what ends they are about to be employed. I beseech you to give me instructions. Be they what they may, they shall be executed. Do you intend to overthrow Godoy, to place Ferdinand

on the throne?—nothing is easier. One word from your lips will suffice. Would you change the dynasty of the Bourbons, regenerate Spain by giving her one of the princes of your house?—again nothing is easier. Your will shall be received as that of Providence.” But he durst not add a last assertion that he himself should have been the best received of the foreign princes who could have been substituted for the old dynasty.

The Emperor—whose purpose was to terrify the Spanish Court by his silence, while assuming a friendly attitude towards the Spanish people, in order to reach Madrid without striking a blow—was impatient on reading Murat’s home questions, and answered sharply; “When I prescribed to you to march militarily, to keep your divisions well together, to avoid all collisions, to take no part in the divisions of the court of Spain, and to send me the questions that might be addressed to you, were not these instructions? The rest does not concern you, and if I say nothing to you, it is because you ought to know nothing.” He then ordered him to be on the 22nd or 23rd of March under the walls of Madrid, to ask leave to rest himself there, before he continued his march for Cadiz; to break open the gates of Madrid, if they should be closed against him, but not till he had done all that was possible to prevent a collision.

Murat was, therefore, obliged to be content to learn nothing more, and set about obeying his orders, feeling certain that, after all, this mystery could conceal nothing but what he desired, that is to say, the overthrow of the Bourbons and the vacating of the splendid throne he so ardently desired to possess.

When news of the intended flight of the Spanish court, which was then at Aranjuez on the Tagus, south of

Madrid, was everywhere spread about, Murat, not knowing how to act, addressed to Napoleon the following question:

"If the court should wish to depart for Seville, am I to allow it?" On the 23rd of March the Emperor replied: "I may suppose that you have arrived in Madrid to-day or that you will arrive there to-morrow. You must maintain strict discipline. Should the court be at Aranjuez, you will let it remain quietly there, and you will manifest friendly sentiments to the royal family. Should the court be at Seville, you will also leave it there undisturbed." We have already seen the instructions to Admiral Rosilly at Cadiz that he must oppose the departure of the court from that seaport; of this order Murat knew nothing.

From Burgos, Murat regulated his march on that of the columns, and passed on to the important center of Valladolid in Segovia. The Spaniards, always flattering themselves that he had come to overthrow the Prince of Peace and to protect the Prince of the Asturias, gave a friendly reception to his troops, though astonished by the extreme youth and the weedy appearance of the soldiers of the renowned French army, and concluding that victories over the rest of the European armies must have been very easy if gained by such boys and weaklings as now marched before their rather contemptuous gaze. Looking upon their own broad shoulders and sturdy limbs, these proud Castilians instantly decided that *such children could not conquer them*. They failed to understand that these weaklings were, nevertheless, commanded by experienced, brave officers and non-commissioned officers, who would soon turn those weedy bat-

talions into excellent soldiers, although they had never seen a shot fired in battle.

In truth, this unfavourable opinion of the prowess of the French army, thus produced by the appearance of these raw young conscripts, was destined to have most evil effects, in helping to cause the outbreaks which were so soon to convulse Spain. Instead of sending three or four of the fine veteran divisions of the Grand Army, still retained by him in Prussia and Poland, whose robust, warlike appearance and admirable discipline would at once have impressed all beholders with respect and awe, the Emperor had seen fit to inundate the north of Spain with these raw levies, which, marched in haste from the depots, before they were even completely shod or clothed, had not only the disadvantage of not being at all imposing, but of exhibiting the appearance of a greedy poverty, which had come to eat up the country they were invading, while the loathesome cutaneous disease of the itch which afflicted many thousands of them, as has been shown, added still further to the poor impression they had made during their march.

But at this moment there was no thought of resistance, as nothing but good was expected from the French: and, excepting some stabs with the knife, instantaneously revenged by sword-cuts, in accidental collisions, here and there, between the men of the lower classes and the young conscripts, overtaken by the wine of the country, or excited by the beauty of the women, cordiality continued to prevail. Another rumor, artfully circulated from the French head-quarters—that of an expedition against Gibraltar—completed the general illusion.

It was only when the Spaniards saw the splendid

veterans of the Imperial Guard, incomparable troops, who escorted Murat, that they were seized with admiration, and burst forth into applause; but those fine detachments, only about 3,000 in all, were almost lost in the midst of an army of 60,000 men, and so could not efface the popular views as to the miserable character of the French army. Murat and his officers, observing these sinister impressions, keenly regretted the absence in Germany of all the old troops, whose presence in Spain they felt would have been so desirable at such a time.

The sudden, treacherous seizure of the great frontier fortresses by the French produced a most baneful impression throughout Spain. The nobility and the middle classes, even after that, continued to manifest a willingness to receive a French dynasty, but the clergy, and particularly the monks, who were not only very numerous, but also very rich, and, therefore, possessed of immense power over the ignorant, fanatical peasants, regarded the French as dangerous foes to their property rights and privileges, and instantly took measures to rouse the people to war.

But, for the moment, a different object engrossed the minds of the Spaniards; it was towards Aranjuez, where the adulterous Queen and her hated favourite, governing the feeble old King, kept a young and adored prince under oppression, that all eyes were turned. People began to wish for the downfall of the Prince of Peace, of the Queen, and of Charles IV. and to demand it of Murat.

M. Yzquierdo, whom we have seen leaving Paris under the rough hint received from the Grand-Marshal Duroc, had hurried to Madrid, and thence to Aranjuez, where, on the 5th of March he was presented to the whole

royal family. He had divined very clearly amid all the "thick clouds which had arisen between the courts of Paris and Madrid," that Napoleon's real design was the dethronement of the Bourbon dynasty, and his alarming report not only filled with terror the royal family, but also the intimate circle of the Prince of Peace, his sisters and his mistresses, the sisters Tudo. From that moment the resolution to quit Spain and seek a refuge in the Spanish Americas was taken. The simple-minded old King, who could not comprehend Napoleon's hidden combinations, insisted that by waiting for him and placing confidence in his justice and magnanimity, all would turn out for the best, and it is not improbable that this simple self-surrender of weakness must have strangely embarrassed Napoleon, and, possibly, have produced a very different outcome.

But the Prince of Peace and the Queen, knowing that they had nothing to expect to their advantage at Napoleon's hands, would not hear to remaining at Aranjuez, and obliged the King to consent to set out for Seville, relying upon events from there for deciding the definitive retreat to America. In his excitement and determination, the Prince of Peace declared that he would carry off the King by force, rather than consent that the court should await the arrival of French troops at Aranjuez. But the Prince of the Asturias, regarding the French emperor as a friend, and still hoping to marry one of his nieces, loudly declared that he would not submit to be dragged so far away from his friends, a prisoner to the Prince of Peace and the Queen. In this view his uncle, Don Antonio, and all the rest of the royal family concurred, excepting the Queen of Etruria, daughter to the King, who had recently arrived from Florence,

with her infant son, to take possession of the throne of the Kingdom of Northern Lusitania in Portugal, for which that of Etruria in Italy, formerly bestowed by the First Consul upon her weak-minded husband (then Duke of Parma, since dead), had been exchanged with the Emperor, under the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which had, likewise, promised the Kingdom of the Algarves to the Prince of Peace, by whom, however, all hopes in that direction were speedily abandoned. This widowed princess was the favourite of the Queen and, therefore, not liked by Ferdinand; besides which her opinion could only control her own actions.

The Prince of Peace, disregarding all opposition, gave all the orders for the intended journey to Andalusia, while talking vaguely of a personal inspection of the ports, which, as grand-admiral of the Spanish navy, it was his duty to make, but deceiving nobody as to what was really intended. The convoys of money and other valuables sent away, the preparations of the court, and of the demoiselles Tudo, soon dispelled all doubts.

It would be difficult to form an idea of the indignation of the Spaniards on learning that they were about to be abandoned by the Bourbons as the Portuguese had been by the Braganzas. And it was said that if the intention was to escape the French, it was because it was known that they were adverse to the Prince of Peace and friendly to the Prince of the Asturias; this last belief restored the French to popularity, after the anger at their seizure of the fortresses, and it was said that instead of running away from Murat, or fighting him, they ought to meet and welcome him, since Emanuel Godoy had such a strong distrust of French motives.

## REVOLUTION AT ARANJUEZ

At sight of these preparations for the departure of the royal family and court, the populace and troops at Aranjuez were filled with rage, and the excitement soon spread to Madrid, only seven or eight leagues away.

As the King and court were on the point of setting out for Seville on the morning of March 16th the people, supported by the troops, rose and violently interfered with the departure of the royal cavalcade, obliging the King and court to re-enter the palace, while, during the night, the palace of the Prince of Peace was sacked by the mob, which sought to find him to put an end to his life. Hidden for thirty-six hours in an upper garret, the unfortunate Godoy was, at last, discovered, cruelly maltreated and wounded, and only rescued from death by the arrival of several of the royal guard who succeeded in placing him in their barracks to secure him from the fury of the mob, which, now reinforced by multitudes of ferocious-looking, armed peasants from the plains of La Mancha, part of the garrison of Madrid and an immense crowd of people who had hurried from there to Aranjuez upon the news of the outbreak—became unmanageable, setting up shouts against the Queen, cries of death to the Prince of Peace, and terrifying the old King and Queen, who, apprehending the fate of Louis XVI. from these revolutionary demonstrations, for themselves, and fearing danger to their beloved Emmanuel, above even their own perils, were persuaded and driven into the immediate abdication of the throne in favour of their eldest son, Ferdinand, who at their entreaties engaged to rescue and protect the Prince of Peace, whom they had been obliged, though most unwillingly, to



degrade and remove from all his offices, and to order to be held for trial for his alleged crimes.

Thereupon, the Prince of the Asturias was proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, under the title of Ferdinand VII., to the delirious joy of the Spanish people, who finding nothing to even respect in the deposed King and Queen, wished to believe that they would find in their contemptible son something the nation *could* honour and love.

Seldom have such noble aspirations by a generous-hearted people been more cruelly deceived and disappointed!

At the moment of this revolution at Aranjuez, the leading divisions of Murat's young conscripts were descending towards Madrid from the lofty heights of Somo Sierra, and the steep passes of the Guardarrama range of mountains. It was on the 19th of March, just as Murat was traversing the Guardarramas with his staff, that he received the first news of the disorders at Aranjuez, and on the next day that he learned of the abdication of Charles IV. and of the accession of Ferdinand VII. Murat then redoubled the speed of his columns, and on the 21st his headquarters were established at the town of El Molar, a few leagues distant from Madrid. A fearful riot was now raging in the capital itself, where mobs had burnt and pillaged the houses of the Prince of Peace, his family and his friends; they would even have been massacred but for the energetic action of the French ambassador who gave them an asylum in the palace of the embassy, which no one dared violate.

On learning of the revolution at Aranjuez, ending in

the unlooked for accession of Ferdinand VII. to the throne, Murat became excessively gloomy and preoccupied, and passed several days without speaking to his staff, beyond giving the briefest orders. He was deeply troubled, also, by the disorders in Madrid, and wrote to inform Napoleon of what he had just learned, to complain anew of not having been admitted into his secrets, and to announce that he was about to enter that capital to restore order.

While at El Molar he received a messenger in disguise, who was the bearer of a letter from the young Queen of Etruria, then at Aranjuez, with whom he had enjoyed intimate relations formerly, in Etruria, as a result of the admiration he inspired in the passionate princess, by whom her simple-minded husband had been regarded and treated with indifference. Connected thus with Marshal Murat, she had felt that this tender tie gave her the right to expect protection from him not merely for herself but for her very unhappy parents. She informed him that her parents and herself were threatened with the greatest danger, to guard against which they looked to his generous protection. She entreated him to come himself, and secretly, to Aranjuez, to see for himself their deplorable situation, that he might devise the means of extricating them from it!

This romantic, deeply afflicted young woman, having little acquaintance with affairs, supposed the head of a French army, about to take possession of one of the largest capitals in Europe, in a dangerous state of disorder, could secretly withdraw from his headquarters, and come to her at Aranjuez for a day or two, as, doubtless, he may have been used to do at Florence, in a time of peace when he was more occupied with the pleasure

of her society than with war or negotiations. Murat replied in the most courteous manner to this appeal, that "he was fully sensible of the recent misfortunes of the royal family of Spain, but that it was impossible for him to leave his headquarters where he was detained by imperative duties; but that he would send in his stead M. de Monthyon, one of his officers, a man thoroughly to be relied on, to whom she might say freely all that she would have confided to him."

M. de Monthyon arrived at Aranjuez the next day. He was surrounded, assailed with prayers and the most earnest entreaties by the aged King, the Queen and the young Queen of Etruria; they recounted to him with many tears the sufferings of the days just passed, the violence to which they had been subjected, and described that to which, perhaps, they would be subjected again: they told him of the injunction they had just received, in the name of Ferdinand, to prepare to set out for Badajoz at the extremity of Estremadura, far from the protection of the French, to be kept there in seclusion, misery perhaps, whilst a hated son reigned, and would probably sacrifice their most beloved friend, the unfortunate Manuel Godoy. With such a prospect in view, their fall had become the more cruel, and the young Queen of Etruria, whom this impending exile afflicted in proportion to her age, added her own despair to all the other vexations of her parents.

Having claims upon Murat, deriving succour from her relations with him, she had been employed to invoke his protection for her parents, for Godoy, for herself, and to be saved from the banishment to Badajoz, to offer to refer all that had happened to the decision of Murat, to make him the arbiter of the destinies of

Spain, and, finally, to submit to everything which he should order. M. de Monthyon instantly set out and rejoined Murat, who, during his absence, had drawn nearer to Madrid to enter it on the 23rd, the very day indicated in the instructions of Napoleon. He communicated to him what he had seen and heard in his interview with the Queen of Etruria and her parents, the bitter regret at their enforced abdication, and their desire to submit the late events in Spain to the Emperor Napoleon.

The half-frantic Queen Louisa Maria sent the following pathetic letter (in French) to Murat by M. de Monthyon:

"Sir, my brother: I have no friend but your Imperial Highness. . . . Will your Imperial Highness obtain for us permission to end our days tranquilly in some spot favourable to the King's health, which is delicate, as well as my own, with our friend, our only friend, the friend of your Imperial Highness, the poor Prince of the Peace? My daughter will be my interpreter, if I cannot have the satisfaction of seeing and speaking to your Imperial Highness. May she exert all her endeavours to see you, though it should be only for a short while, to-night, as she wishes?

"Your Imperial Highness' adjutant-commander will inform you of all we have told him. I trust that your Imperial Highness will obtain what we pray for, and solicit, and that you will pardon our scribbling and omission of the usual forms, for I know not where I am; but be assured that it is not from any want of respect. Accept the assurance of our friendship, and I pray God, etc.

Your very affectionate

Louisa."

Murat's mind, sharpened by ambition, now formed the design of changing the regret which the old sovereigns exhibited in their fall into a formal protest against their enforced abdication; and, after having it signed by them and confided to his hands, to refuse the recognition of Ferdinand VII; for naturally he could not recognize him without the authority of the Emperor. The result would be to leave Spain without a sovereign; for the old King, fallen in fact, would not resume the throne by protesting, and thanks to this protest, the royal authority of Ferdinand VII. would remain in suspense. Between a king who was no longer king and a king who was not so yet, who could never be so, if it was not wished that he should, Spain was about to be without any other master than the general commanding the French army.

Fortune thus restored the means which she had taken away by preventing the departure of Charles IV. and thus vacating the Spanish throne in the same manner that the Portuguese had been. He had found out in taking this course, upon his own initiative, the precise plan devised by Napoleon himself, some days later, on the news of the recent events at Aranjuez. He instantly sent M. de Monthyon to revisit the royal family, and, since they declared that they had been constrained, to propose to them to protest against the abdication of the 19th, to protest secretly if they dared not do it publicly, and to enclose this protest in a letter to the Emperor, who would arrive in Spain in a few days, and who would thus be constituted arbiter of the hateful usurpation committed by the son to the injury of the father. The desired protest was eagerly executed by the old sov-

ereigns. Murat promised to gain the Emperor's favour for the cause of Charles IV., and in the meantime, to send a strong guard to protect and escort them to Madrid whither they should come to reside in the Escorial—a change in every way most agreeable to the aged King and Queen, as well as to the young Queen and himself. He further delighted them and lessened their fears by the assurance that the unfortunate Godoy, who had become the prisoner of Ferdinand VII. should also be protected. He then hastened to write to the Emperor to inform him of what had taken place in both Aranjuez and the capital, and to submit to him the combination which he had devised.

Having arrived upon the heights commanding Madrid on the evening of the 22nd, he prepared to make his entry into the city the next day at the head of 30,000 men. He here received the envoy sent by Ferdinand VII. to compliment him on his arrival, in the name of the new King of Spain, to offer him entrance into Madrid, provisions and quarters for his troops, and a cordial assurance of his friendly intentions towards France.

Murat gave to the envoy, and his assurances, a gracious reception, but informed him that, while awaiting the imperial recognition of his title, he could only look upon the new government as a government *de facto*, and give to Ferdinand no other title except that of Prince of the Asturias. This kind of relation had to be accepted, since the Emperor's Lieutenant would admit of none other, and feeling the necessity of having a good understanding with him, a proclamation was issued in the name of Ferdinand VII., in which he called upon the people to give a good reception to the troops of his friend, Napoleon.

About the middle of the following day, Murat made his entry at the head of a brilliant staff, and delighted all the Spaniards by his noble mien, the splendour of his uniform, and his trusting and gracious smile. He established himself in a palace belonging to the Prince of Peace, the only one which the mob had spared, under the impression that it still belonged to the crown. Whilst he was entering Madrid he learned that the unfortunate Godoy was even then being conveyed to one of the prisons there, doubtless for the purpose of having him put to death. Fearing the presence of Godoy might provoke a popular tumult, and especially at the moment of the appearance of the French army, he sent an officer of his staff, the Baron Marbot, with a squadron of dragoons to prevent harm to Godoy, and to have him detained near the city till his further orders, all of which was accomplished by that courageous officer, but not till after a violent scene with the Spanish officer in command of the large escort surrounding the prisoner, in which a conflict was only averted by the Spaniards yielding to the French officer's demand. The wretched prisoner's wounds, inflicted several days before at Aranjuez, Marbot discovered had never even been dressed, and he was loaded with chains and manacles, which the latter obliged the guards to remove, and he had his wounds dressed by the surgeon of the dragoons while the French officers, and even the troopers, lent him linen. Godoy had been a silent witness of all that took place and on reaching his prison in the village of Pinto, warmly thanked his deliverers and begged to convey his gratitude to Marshal Murat. Distrusting the intentions of the Spaniards, a

battalion of French infantry was quickly sent to Pinto with orders to see that no harm should be done the prisoner.

On the day following Murat's appearance, Ferdinand VII., made his public entry into the capital, accompanied by two hundred thousand citizens of all ranks, in carriages, on foot and on horse-back, who had gone out to welcome him, with indescribable joy. Men spread their cloaks under his horse's feet, and women threw flowers in his path. The French troops did not appear officially, but Murat, who was an eye-witness to the universal transports, failed not instantly to communicate to the Emperor what he had seen.

The first care of Ferdinand, after he ascended the throne, had been to transmit to Napoleon a full account of the transactions at Aranjuez, according to his version of the affair; and to renew his proposals for the hand of a French princess; he was anxiously awaiting the answer of this supreme arbiter of his fate. In the interim, however, he was treated by the French authorities with the utmost reserve. Murat did not even visit him. Alarmed at this state of things and seeing no other way to bring about a friendly interview, he persuaded his sister, the Queen of Etruria, whom he knew to be the recipient of constant visits and attentions from Murat,—at whose desire she had come to live at the royal palace in Madrid with Ferdinand—to consent to do this great favour and service for him. The details of this curious meeting are thus related by General Foy (vol. 3, p. 140 note).

"The Queen of Etruria had, unknown to Murat, ar-



ranged matters for an interview between him and Ferdinand VII., and, accordingly, he made his appearance, and was announced as *King of Spain*, when the French general was paying a visit to the Ex-Queen of Tuscany. Murat stood up when he entered the room, but did not advance a step to meet him; Ferdinand paused at this unexpected reserve; and the Queen, to put an end to so awkward a scene, sat down to the piano and began to play. Neither said a word; at length Ferdinand mechanically drew near to his sister, and stood beside the instrument; Murat never stirred, and soon after, bowing to the Queen, retired, without having taken any farther notice of the embarrassed monarch."

But as the situation of Ferdinand VII., was not only uncertain, but full of danger without the recognition of the French emperor, no pains were spared to conciliate his favour, and win the good will of the French generals in Madrid. Obsequious obedience to every demand, flattery, caresses, were all tried to no purpose. Murat, now aware of his brother-in-law's designs upon the Spanish throne, and already regarding Ferdinand as a rival to his own ambition to fill it, was careful to avoid everything which could have the semblance even of recognizing his title to it.

In his Memoirs, the Duke of Rovigo (Savary) says: "To the Grand-Duke of Berg, Charles IV. was, of course, King of Spain until his government acknowledged Ferdinand to be chief of the Spanish nation. He naturally yielded to the entreaties of the dethroned King and to those of the Queen which were still more urgent, and he took the Prince of the Peace under the protection of his banners. He did more: he sent a guard of honour to Charles IV. and openly declared that, until he should

receive more ample information, he would acknowledge no other sovereign of Spain."

#### NEW AND DANGEROUS CONDITIONS IN SPAIN

With the simultaneous appearance at Madrid of Murat, at the head of a powerful army, and of the new young sovereign, Ferdinand VII., affairs in Spain had reached one of the most remarkable situations which history has to record; and, moreover, it was dangerous in the extreme for both nations. The unexpected revolution at Aranjuez in March, resulting in the downfall and imprisonment of the Prince of Peace, the frustration of the attempted retreat of Charles IV. to Andalusia and America, followed by his enforced abdication, and the accession of Ferdinand VII. to the throne, all within the space of three days, had totally defeated the crafty design of the French emperor to cause the Spanish throne to be left vacant, for him to seize as that of Portugal had been the year before, by the means of terror and flight.

New combinations, a new course, had become necessary in these new and trying circumstances. It was not the feeble, disorganized Spanish army the French had now to face, but the Spanish nation, becoming every day more aroused and exasperated over the occupation of its territory and capital by the treacherous means employed. Sensible of the increasing perils, the Emperor wrote to Murat, on the 29th of March as follows: "I fear, M. Grand-Duke of Berg, that you are deceiving me on the real situation of Spain, and that you deceive yourself also. The events of the 19th of March have singularly complicated our affairs; I am in the greatest perplexity; never suppose that you are engaged with a disarmed

nation, and that you have only to show yourself, to insure the submission of Spain. You have *to deal with a virgin people*; they already have all the courage, and they will soon have all the enthusiasm, which you meet with among men who are not worn out by political passions.

"The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain; if they become seriously alarmed for their privileges and existence, they will rouse the people and induce eternal war. The Prince of Peace is detested because they accuse him of having given up Spain to France; that is the cry which led to the usurpation of Ferdinand. The Prince of Asturias has none of the qualities essential for the chief of a nation; that want, however, will not prevent them, in order to oppose us, from making him a hero. . . . Consistently with the interests of my empire, I can do infinite good to Spain. What are the best means of attaining that object? Should I advance to Madrid, and assume the rights of a protector, by declaring for the father against the son? It is difficult to re-establish Charles IV. His rule and his favourite have become so unpopular they could not stand three months. Ferdinand, again, is the enemy of France; it is because he is so that they have put him on the throne. To keep him there would be to promote the factions who, for twenty-five years, have wished the subjugation of France. A family alliance would be a feeble bond. I think we should precipitate nothing, and take counsels from future events. I do not approve of your taking possession so precipitately as you have done of Madrid; you should have kept the army ten leagues from the capital. Your entry into Madrid, by exciting the alarm of the Spaniards, has powerfully supported Ferdinand.

I will write you what part to adopt in regard to the old King; take care you do not commit me to meet with Ferdinand *in Spain*, unless you deem it expedient for me to recognize him as King of Spain. Above all, take care that the Spaniards do not suspect what course I am about to adopt; you can have no difficulty in doing so, for I do not know myself. . . . I will attend to your private interests; have no thought of them; *Portugal remains at my disposal*. Keep the army always some days' march from the Spanish corps. *If war break out all is lost*. The destinies of Spain must be determined by diplomacy and negotiations."

In order to secure the good will of the Spaniards, Murat gave many fine fêtes and brilliant receptions, and with considerable success in the object he had, among the higher classes. But the populace, on the contrary, never gave in to this species of seduction in any form. They too admired Murat, and would sometimes show enthusiasm at the appearance of the splendid squadrons of the Imperial Guards, but made no effort to conceal their contempt for the regiments of conscripts, suffering from the itch, and undergoing the military instructions in the camps around Madrid, which they had not had time to receive at the depots in France.

The good effects of this constant training, at the hands of the excellent officers and non-commissioned officers over them, of good quarters, of rest and recovery from their malady soon appeared in several grand reviews Murat held in the open country outside the walls, which the inhabitants were courteously invited to witness. These spectacles and the constant demonstrations of

courtesy, which were accorded to even the humblest, produced a good effect, and as Murat caused strict discipline to be observed by his troops, disorders were reduced to a minimum, and he judged, from the surface indications, that the anger and suspicions of the inhabitants were allayed to a much greater degree than proved to be the case.

Between the French ambassador, M. Beauharnais, and Ferdinand VII. there had grown up a feeling of mutual esteem, much strengthened, no doubt, on the part of M. Beauharnais, by the knowledge of the desire of the latter to marry a princess of the Bonaparte family, and the further hope that the selection of one might fall on his own niece, Mdle. Tascher. Consequently, he strongly favoured the recognition of Ferdinand VII. as King of Spain, and, besides, sincerely believed an alliance, so founded, between the two countries was the best policy for both.

It was then supposed the Emperor would come to Madrid to settle, in person, the affairs of both Spain and Portugal, and it had been decided to send Don Carlos, brother to the King, to the frontier to receive him. Improving upon this idea, M. Beauharnais suggested to Ferdinand that it could not fail to have the best possible effect upon his own claims, if he himself should go, at least as far as Burgos, to receive his august guest. Having reported to Murat what he had advised Ferdinand to do, and his belief that it would probably insure Ferdinand's success, it so greatly angered, and alarmed the jealous fears of Murat, who desired nothing less, that he at once denounced him to the Emperor as a secret accomplice of Ferdinand VII., who had helped to overthrow Charles IV., and as a dangerous ambassador,

who favoured the cause of the new sovereignty, which was the only one which there was any reason to fear.

Reflecting, however, more coolly upon the new idea, thus innocently suggested by M. Beauharnais, Murat now conceived the design of making a treacherous use of it—that of sending Ferdinand to meet Napoleon, in order that the latter might secure his person, and then do with him as he saw fit. There would then be no other person to deal with except the old King, in whose hands even Spain itself was not disposed to leave the scepter. Of all this he wrote the Emperor.

#### THE QUEEN OF ETRURIA

In the intrigues and counter-intrigues which now so deeply stirred the activities of the opposing interests at Madrid, Murat found an ardent supporter in the infatuated young Queen of Etruria, Savary says: "Every evening the Grand-Duke visited Ferdinand's sister, the Queen of Etruria, who now inhabited the palace of Madrid along with her brother. The princess wished her father not to abdicate. She saw that she must lose by that measure much of her consideration, her hopes and the prospects of her young child; and consequently she concealed nothing from the Grand-Duke that he wished to know respecting the disposition of her brother, with whom she lived. The bad intentions of Ferdinand towards France became thus perfectly well-known; and the communications of the Queen of Etruria frequently formed the subjects of reports transmitted to the Emperor."

These interviews of the Queen with Murat were, Savary relates, followed by numerous letters she wrote from

the palace to him, wherein she gave him, at different hours of the day, a detailed account of the acts and movements of her brother Ferdinand.

Though having, in reality, but slight influence upon the course of events at Madrid, yet as she has been repeatedly mentioned in that connection because of the claims of her infant son to the throne of Etruria, it may be of interest to give some further account of the career of the young Queen of Etruria, Maria Louisa, third daughter of Charles IV. and Queen Maria Louisa, whose favourite child she appears to have been. She was born at Madrid July 6, 1782, and was still very young when the Prince don Luis de Bourbon, eldest son of the Duke of Parma, came to Madrid to receive the hand of her elder sister, the Princess Marie-Amelie; that princess was endowed with a sad and silent character.

Maria Louisa, on the contrary, united to the graces of her sex all the vivacity and brightness of her early developed young womanhood. The Prince of Parma, struck with her physical charms and gaiety, at once became infatuated with her, and could not endure the thought of marriage with her sister. In his dilemma he appealed to the all-powerful Godoy, Prince of the Peace, who had become his friend, by whose influence with the King and Queen it was finally arranged that Maria Louisa should be bestowed upon him, instead of the melancholy Amelie. In her memoirs, called "*Memoirs of the Queen of Etruria*," consisting of a number of disconnected fragments, she states that she was married at the age of thirteen and one-half years, that she and her husband continued to reside at the court of her parents in Madrid, where, about six years later, she had a son, and later a daughter.

In April, 1801, soon after Napoleon had raised her

husband to the dignity of King of Etruria, she relates that she was informed by the Prince of Peace that the King and Queen of Etruria would have to proceed from Madrid to Paris, en route to their future kingdom in Italy, "as the First Consul had manifested the desire to see what effect the presence of a Bourbon in France would produce;" that she and her husband were filled with dread at the thought of having been chosen to try such an experiment, but that their apprehensions were completely relieved by the courteous treatment and honours that met them everywhere in France. On their arrival at Florence they were unpleasantly surprised to find their capital and kingdom occupied by a French army under the orders of General Murat. The young king, already known to have been childishly simple mentally, died at Florence in May, 1803, and his young son was immediately crowned, under the name of Charles Louis II., King of Etruria, and she herself named as Queen Regent.

Beyond the above facts, her memoirs disclose little or nothing of what occurred in Etruria after her arrival there in 1801, and leave gaps of years in the succeeding fragmentary statements. Curiously enough, no mention whatever is made of her presence in Spain at the time of the dethronement of her father and mother, of her own connection with events at Madrid, or of its occupation by the French under Murat in 1808, much less of her friendship with him, during the brighter days of high revelry and daring feats in their hunts upon horseback, when both were together in Tuscany. But we are told by others that the young queen, "free of all constraint, abandoned herself to her taste for *le faste*, and after the death of her husband increased the number of



her courtiers, instituted a new guard of honour, accorded pensions, created new officers, and rendered her court one of the most brilliant in Europe. Like her father, the young queen loved the chase with passion; often she rode in the habit of an amazon and mounted as easily *en cavalier* as the most intrepid hunters. When she resided in the capital, balls and fêtes succeeded each other rapidly, and always she displayed great magnificence. The revenue of the little kingdom of Etruria could not suffice for such prodigality, and only the generosity of her mother, the Queen of Spain, extricated her more than once from such embarrassments." Upon such a woman, the superb physique, splendour of dress and unequalled horsemanship of the young French general exercised an irresistible fascination and brought about an intimacy with Murat which we have not only seen her invoking in the disastrous days at Madrid, but have, also a curious confirmation of its lasting power, in her own memoirs. In these later years, when she had not only lost her own throne, but had seen Murat mount that of Naples, she had retired to complete seclusion in Tuscany, where she lived upon a pension which, to her intense displeasure, had been reduced to the beggarly sum of only 2,500 francs per month, which, happily, she still had the influence, in an interview with the chivalrous King of Naples, to have handsomely increased. She thus recounts the circumstance: "Having spoken upon this subject to Murat, then on his passage to Rome, the 6th of February, he rendered a decree which brought my pension to 33,000 francs per month. They reduced this later to 10,000, which I have continued to receive to the present."

## GENERAL SAVARY SENT TO SPAIN

But, even before Murat's letters, in which he put forward his new ideas, could reach Paris, the Emperor had summoned General Savary, one of his ablest, boldest, most faithful and, if need were, most unscrupulous ambassadors, who had just returned from a most important mission to St. Petersburg. He revealed to Savary all his thoughts upon Spain, his desire to regenerate it and bind it to France by making a complete change in its dynasty; the new phase created by the recent events at Aranjuez; the desirability of making use of the old against the new King; his intention not to recognize Ferdinand—while affecting a religious regard for the rights of Charles IV., but making him yield up his crown at a later period—to draw Ferdinand away from Madrid, to Burgos or Bayonne, and to obtain from him a cession of his rights by an indemnity in Italy, such as Tuscany, for example; but, if he should prove obdurate to boldly publish the protest of Charles IV., to declare that he alone was King of Spain, and to treat Ferdinand, as a son and as a subject, like a rebel.

Savary was enjoined to act with discretion, to allure Ferdinand to Bayonne, with the hope of seeing the dispute with his father decided in his favour. Savary set out immediately for Madrid to apprise Murat of these secret purposes, and to carry them into execution without reserve.

The Emperor instructed Murat to preserve the life of the Prince of Peace at all costs, and to send him to Bayonne, to carefully protect the old sovereigns, to bring them from Aranjuez to the Escorial, where they would be in the midst of the French army; to beware of ac-

knowledging Ferdinand VII., and finally, to wait for the arrival of the French court at Bayonne, where it would arrive shortly. Murat and General Savary soon decided upon the manner in which they would carry this dark and difficult plot into execution.

The question which Ferdinand had to resolve was simply: should he go to meet Napoleon? The danger of compromising the provinces, the colonies, or some other great interests of the Spanish monarchy, never even presented itself to the minds of Ferdinand and his advisers, so entirely were they occupied with the fear that Charles IV. would go to plead for himself, and, perhaps, gain his cause with Napoleon. Ferdinand sent his two most trusted advisers to sound Murat and Savary as to their attitude, and they were so completely duped by the encouragement received from each of them, that they returned to Ferdinand convinced that this journey to Burgos would certainly lead to his recognition as King of Spain. The astute diplomat, Savary, had no difficulty whatever in misleading these otherwise cunning men, who would have deceived themselves had no one else deceived them, so anxious were they to be persuaded to take any measure which might thwart the restoration of the old King and Manuel Godoy to power.

Ferdinand having thus determined to go to Burgos, had the effrontery to go to his outraged parents, whom he had left almost in destitution, without even deigning to see before he set out for Madrid from Aranjuez, to ask for a letter to Napoleon, in order, in some measure to bind his old father by a word of good will in his favour, but met with a bad reception from him, and with a still worse one from his mother who angrily refused to aid him in his attempt to establish his good conduct in the

events of Aranjuez. Although somewhat disconcerted at this refusal, he appointed a regency, with commission to give orders in cases of emergency during his absence, and prepared to set out on the 10th of April, with his suite and principal advisers to Burgos.

The news of this intended journey caused an inexpressible commotion in Madrid, which was only partially allayed by a proclamation from Ferdinand, saying that the Emperor of France was coming in person to the capital, there to contract a new alliance, and to consolidate the happiness of the Spaniards, and that he could not neglect the duty of going to meet a guest so illustrious and so great as the victor of Austerlitz and Friedland.

It had been agreed upon between Murat and Savary that the latter, for fear of some alteration in Ferdinand's mind, should make the journey along with him and his suite, to draw them on from Burgos to Vittoria, and from Vittoria to Bayonne, where the Emperor would be. It was also decided that the demand for delivering up the Prince of Peace should be deferred till Ferdinand had crossed the frontier. No sooner was the departure of Ferdinand known than the old sovereigns became greatly alarmed, and manifested an ardent desire to proceed in person to plead their cause against an unnatural son, without waiting for the Emperor to arrive at Madrid. The widowed young Queen of Etruria, wished also to defend the rights of her infant son, now become King of North Lusitania, and contributed to the eagerness of her parents to take the road to Bayonne.

Murat was at once informed of this desire of her parents by the young Queen, and learned, with inexpressible joy, that the Bourbons would themselves soon leave the

Spanish throne vacant, in the strange sort of emulation which had seized them all to throw themselves into the arms of Napoleon. However, he felt the necessity of being prudent, and lest too great offense might be taken by sending off the old sovereigns upon the heels of Ferdinand, and so arousing suspicions not only among the people, but in Ferdinand's mind as well, he restrained the departure of Charles IV. till after Ferdinand's arrival in France.

Upon his arrival at Burgos Ferdinand and his advisers were much surprised to learn that nothing was known there of the approach of the Emperor. The desire of being the first to see him, to anticipate the old rulers, so blinded them, that General Savary who never quitted them had little trouble in persuading him to continue on to Vittoria, where besides the certainty of meeting the Emperor, they would know the fate that awaited him two days earlier, which latter suggestion had a great effect in deciding them to go on towards the Pyrenees. At Vittoria it was made known to the young King that the Emperor, so far from having arrived in Spain, was only at Bordeaux, a fact at which Spanish susceptibility was deeply affected, and he refused to proceed any further.

General Savary observed that since the object of the journey was to see Napoleon, it was necessary to put trifling considerations aside; that, after all, those who came to meet Napoleon had need of him, whilst he had no need of them, and finally, that they should cease objecting like children against a step which they had taken from motives of strong personal interest. Seeing that he was not listened to, he abruptly changed his bearing, and from being persuasive and wily, he became

arrogant and harsh, and mounting his horse, declared he would join the Emperor and leave them to do as they pleased.

Napoleon arrived at Bayonne on the 14th of April, where he learned, with much satisfaction, from General Savary all that had taken place at Madrid, and also of the situation at Vittoria. To allay the fears of Ferdinand and induce him to come to Bayonne, he sent a letter to him by Savary, well-calculated to do this, though without entering into any formal engagement to recognize his title. Finally, he showed himself still disposed to the idea of a marriage, if the explanations which were to be given at Bayonne, concerning the revolution at Aranjuez, which had overturned the throne of an old ally, should prove such as to satisfy him. And, also, reminding him that as a neighbouring sovereign, it was his duty to inquire into before he could recognize that abdication.

In case of resistance to these artifices, General Savary was instructed to employ force, as a last resort, to bring Ferdinand to Bayonne, which could easily be done, as Vittoria was then occupied by a full division of French infantry under Verdier, while only weak detachments of Spanish troops were in that region. He sent orders to Murat, as well as to Marshal Bessierres, not to hesitate to arrest Ferdinand upon the mere order of General Savary—in that event giving publicity to the protest of Charles IV. declaring the latter alone was king and the son a usurper. He further instructed Murat as soon as Ferdinand had crossed the frontier, to secure the Prince of Peace from the Spanish authorities, by force, if need be, and send him to Bayonne.

The letter brought by Savary, however, relieved Fer-

dinand's counsellors of all their perplexities, and it was finally resolved to continue the journey to Bayonne without delay, which was accordingly done.

Upon one point, Murat had anticipated his instructions: this was as to the departure of the aged sovereigns, and the deliverance of the Prince of Peace. He informed them, in response to their entreaties, that it would give the Emperor the greatest pleasure to have them near him, and that, consequently, they had only to prepare for their departure; and further that he was about to demand the deliverance of the Prince of Peace, in order that he might travel with them to Bayonne—doubly welcome intelligence, which shed a gleam of joy into hearts which had been sad since the fatal days of Aranjuez. As soon as he learned that Ferdinand had actually crossed the frontier, Murat threw off the mask, and compelled the Regency at Madrid to deliver up to him the Prince of Peace, having coupled with the demand the angry threat that if they allowed him to be murdered, he would cause the entire garrison of the prison, six hundred in number, to be put to the sword without mercy.

This unfortunate man, till lately the actual ruler of Spain, sharing the royal bed of its Queen, and enjoying luxury in its utmost extravagance, for the last twenty years, arrived at Murat's headquarters almost without clothes, his beard unshaven, his body covered with wounds scarcely healed, and marked with the chains which had fettered him. His forlorn condition touched the generous-hearted Murat, who loaded him with kindnesses, supplied him with everything he needed, and sent him on to Bayonne with one of his aides-de-camp and a strong escort of French cavalry for his protection, where he arrived on the 26th of April.

The Marshal next arranged for the departure of the old sovereigns, who, forgetting all their misfortunes, were filled with joy that their beloved Manuel was safe in France, where they would soon join him, and see their all-powerful friend, the Emperor, who would avenge them upon their enemies. Having obtained possession of all the most valuable of the crown-jewels and made other necessary preparations, they desired Murat to arrange their departure. On the 23rd they went from the Escorial to the Prado, where they passed the night in the midst of the French troops, receiving royal honours, and there they took leave of their kind friend and protector, Murat, embracing him with the greatest enthusiasm and joy. Under an escort of the superb cavalry of the Imperial Guard which he had ordered to attend them, they set out for Buitrago, taking the great road to Bayonne, and traveled with the leisure which the age and infirmities of the King demanded. The Prince of Peace had traveled with the utmost speed, so as not to allow time for the assembling of mobs to attack him; Charles IV. and the Queen did not arrive in Bayonne till four days after their favourite, during which Louisa Maria could scarcely repress her impatience and anxiety to be once more with the beloved Manuel.

Thus the throne of Spain had, at last, become vacant, and Murat, become almost sole master of the country, now looked upon himself as really King of Spain. His aides-de-camp, in their turn, all fancied themselves grantees of the new court, flattered him more and more to his intense satisfaction, while he, re-echoing these flatteries to Paris, wrote to the Emperor: "I am master here in your name; give the word, and Spain will do all you desire; she will give the crown to whichever of



the French princes you may be pleased to designate"—always hoping and believing that he himself would be that one!

The Spaniards, with profound grief, now began to take cognizance of their true position: some were animated by feelings of indignation and contempt at the folly and weakness of their princes, while others were enraged against the foreigners, who had, by treachery and deceit, insinuated themselves into their territories, and entrapped their rulers. Incited by fanatical monks, assassinations of French soldiers became much more frequent. One peasant killed two soldiers and wounded a third, under the inspiration, as he said, of the Blessed Virgin. The priest of Caramanchel, a village at the gates of Madrid, assassinated a French officer. Murat made a memorable example of these assassins, but could not thereby repress the hatred and overt acts which now began to manifest themselves on all sides. So tense had the feeling in the city become, that, on one occasion, a horse having run away on the grand promenade of the Prado, everybody took to flight, under the impression that a conflict was about to commence between the French and the Spaniards.

Upon his arrival at Bayonne, Charles IV. with the earnest insistence, also, of the Prince of Peace, issued a manifesto, in which after declaring himself still the sole King of Spain, he added that being himself incapable of exercising his authority, he appointed the Grand-Duke of Berg his Lieutenant, and confided to him his royal powers.

The Emperor hurried this decree to Madrid with an imperative order that all the Spanish princes still remaining there should forthwith join the rest of the royal

family at Bayonne: the youngest of the Infants, Don Francisco de Paula, Don Antonio, uncle of Ferdinand, the Queen of Etruria and her young son.

It had been intended that this princess should accompany her parents on their journey to Bayonne, but, animated, like Murat himself, with an ardent desire to continue the enjoyment of their association as long as possible, had evaded departure with the King and Queen upon a plea of sudden illness, and so was left in Madrid. But no one dared now to trifle by such excuses with a positive order from the Emperor—Murat, least of all, and preparations were made for immediate compliance.

Murat demanded of the Regency that the Queen of Etruria and the Infants, Don Francisco and Don Antonio, should forthwith set out for Bayonne, but that body, left without instructions in their unparalleled situation, uncertain how to act, refused, in very mild terms, to place all that remained of the royal family in the hands of the French Emperor. This chanced to be on Sunday the 1st of May, which attracted an immense concourse of country people into the city. The whole population of the capital was in the streets: business was everywhere suspended: wild, energetic figures, wearing slouched hats, and armed with knives and poignards, mingled with the throngs which assembled in the great squares of Madrid: and in the menacing looks and smothered agitation of these groups might be seen decisive proofs that a dangerous explosion was at hand.

Murat informed the Regency that he should take no notice whatever of their refusal, and that on the following morning, the second of May, he should make the Queen of Etruria, and the Infants, Don Francisco and

Don Antonio, set out : a declaration to which the Regency made no reply.

OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND OF MAY, 1808

The morning of the 2nd of May a number of court carriages, each drawn by six large, handsome mules, drew up before the palace to receive the royal passengers. Just as these were entering their carriages, some servants came out of the palace, exclaiming that Don Francisco was weeping and declaring he would not leave Madrid. These statements flew all over the immense crowd which had assembled and produced the most violent excitement. At the same instant, an aide-de-camp of Murat arrived, having been sent by him to pay his devoted respects to the Queen of Etruria at the moment of her departure. The report flew through the crowd that he was come to force the royal youth from the palace of his fathers. Furious yells burst from the enraged people who set upon the French officer with stones and knives, and were on the point of murdering him, when a dozen grenadiers of the Imperial Guards on duty at the palace occupied by Murat, whence the attack could be seen, rushed forward with fixed bayonets and rescued him. Some discharges of musketry here were the signal for a general rising, and firing was heard on all sides. Murat instantly punished this insult to his authority by discharges of grapeshot from a battery before his palace, and quickly dispersed the crowd at that place; but the people flew to arms, attacked isolated Frenchmen, and cut to pieces several small detachments in different parts of the city.

Murat mounted his horse at the first alarm, issued his

orders for the entry of his troops into the city, by all the gates at once, with the promptitude and decision of a general who is accustomed to all the chances of war, and directing a concentric movement upon the great square of Puerta del Sol, which was the centre of the disturbance.

As the cavalry galloped in that direction, headed by the Mamelukes and Polish lancers of the Guard, they were received with a fire of musketry on all sides, and suffered considerable loss: spurring their horses to a rapid charge they dashed furiously against the tremendous mass in the Puerta del Sol, broke it up, and compelled it to fly by all the streets leading from it. The Mamelukes, in particular, used their sharp curved sabres with great dexterity, cutting off the heads of a great number of the mob with a single stroke, and thus spread a panic, the remembrance of which left a lasting impression on the people of Madrid. The strong columns of infantry which followed the cavalry made short work of the mobs, and in three hours Madrid was subdued, having learned that Murat's young conscripts, led on by experienced officers, were as formidable to the fierce peasants of Spain as they were at Aspern and Wagram to the most disciplined troops of Europe. The impression upon the people of Madrid was profound, and in the first excitement it was reported that the killed numbered several thousand, when they were, in fact, not many more hundreds, even including some Murat caused to be court-martialed and shot for atrocious assassinations.

But the effect was none the less fatal in precipitating the war of which, in fact, this outbreak was the beginning: the report of Murat's cannon at Madrid was liter-

ally the beginning of the end, and resounded from one end of the Peninsula to the other, arousing an unquenchable resistance.

On the following morning he sent off the Queen of Etruria, Don Antonio and Don Francisco: the child, frightened by the firing, now agreed to go with his sister and his uncle. Nor did the people of Madrid attempt to offer any further resistance. What followed at Bayonne is related in the Paper upon Don Manuel Godoy, and so we may here take leave of the royal exiles and their beloved favourite, the Prince of Peace.

Murat had now received the decree of Charles IV. making him his Lieutenant-General, also. He called the Regency, made them accept him as president in place of Don Antonio, who had gone away without even informing that body of his intentions. He then took up his abode in the royal palace, where he occupied the apartments of the Prince of the Asturias, and seemed to himself, and to his enthusiastic friends, more nearly certain, if possible, of being seated on the coveted throne of Spain and the Indies than ever before. He had soon restored good order in Madrid, and in more letters than one, had stated to the Emperor as a fact, which he cited without comment, that the Spaniards, impatient to be relieved from their long and painful anxieties, frequently cried out, "Let us run to the Grand-Duke of Berg and proclaim him King!"

The successive abdications of the crown of Spain by Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. absolving the Spanish nation from all allegiance to themselves, and to the Bourbon dynasty, having, at last, made Napoleon master of it, he hastened to bestow it—not upon his brother-in-

law, Murat,—but upon his elder brother, Joseph Bonaparte!

The Emperor had blasted Murat's hopes and ambitious dreams in a letter to M. Foret, the new ambassador at Madrid, in order that it might come to him first in that way saying: "that the Grand-Duke of Berg was lulling himself with the hope of reigning over Spain, and that his conduct evidenced this; that this was a vain delusion which must be crushed, for no one in Spain would ever think of having him for King; that it would never be forgotten that he was the author of the whole plot which had effected the dispossession of the fallen family, and the general who had commanded the slaughter of the 2nd of May; that a prince who was a stranger to all these acts, to whom no recollections of intrigue or rigour were attached, would be far better received; and that the reward of the services rendered by Prince Murat would be the Kingdom of Naples, destined to become vacant by the very success of what had been done at Madrid."

#### THE DESPAIR AND DISAPPOINTMENT OF MURAT

It would be difficult to form any idea of the deep chagrin, the intense surprise and grief of Murat upon learning the choice, however natural, which Napoleon had thus made for a new sovereign for Spain. His successive appointments as commander-in-chief and lieutenant of the Emperor in Spain as well as that of lieutenant of Charles IV. investing him with all his royal powers, had foreshadowed to him his certain elevation to the Spanish throne. This sudden destruction of all his hopes was a blow that profoundly shook not his

mind only, but even his strong constitution to the extent of placing his life in serious jeopardy in the severe illness which followed. The brilliant crown of Naples now appeared to him nothing better than a painful disgrace. But he accepted, without comment or complaint, this bitter, humiliating disappointment; and much shaken and broken in health set out to take possession of the throne of the Kingdom of Naples, a country remote from Spain, from Germany, and the theatres of active hostilities, and remained for four years at his beautiful capital on the Bay of Naples, in almost useless inaction, until once more recalled by Napoleon to active service in Russia at the head of the cavalry of the Grand Army, where his splendid achievements only made more manifest the great loss the arms of France sustained by his absence from the fields of battle in the Peninsula, upon which the mild and peaceful Joseph seldom appeared and would have been useless there if he had.

FAILURE TO BESTOW SPANISH THRONE ON MURAT  
A FATAL ERROR

The ill-starred choice by the Emperor of his brother Joseph to occupy the throne of Spain, rather than the vigorous, warlike Murat, was only less fatal in its consequences, than was intervention in the affairs of that country, at all. Joseph, besides, could not possibly prepare to leave Naples and arrive at Madrid before the expiration of two months, and these two months were to determine the submission or insurrection of Spain. He was weak, inactive, an indifferent soldier, disliked by the French troops, against whose interest he usually decided in favour of his new subjects, and, finally, quite

incapable of commanding the Spaniards, or of inspiring them with respect.

Murat, on the other hand, was then at Madrid, acquainted with the people, and actually governing the country successfully, upon the whole, as Lieutenant of both the Emperor and of Charles IV.; he was greatly admired and even liked by the Spaniards, despite the unfortunate affair of May 2nd and there proved, too, by the promptness and boldness of his resolutions, that he was the very man to stifle an insurrection at its birth.

But the Emperor, apparently, had confidence in none but his own brothers: he saw in Murat merely a simple ally, who might thereafter turn against him: he was distrustful of his levity and the ambition of his wife, although she was his sister, and determined to give him only the Kingdom of Naples, where defection would count for little in comparison with that of such a country as Spain and its vast colonial empire in the New World.

Murat, who possessed intelligence united with tireless energy, whom Napoleon by his grand lessons and continual watchfulness had trained to command ably, by giving him the command of the army in his own absences from it, was not only greatly liked and admired by the French soldiers of all ranks but knew, also, how to make the French generals obey him—as the unfortunate King Joseph did not—and, if seated on the Spanish throne, would not have failed to enforce that unity of action among the immense French forces in the Peninsula, the want of which was admittedly the one great cause of the disastrous issue of a contest, which instead of extending over six bloody and costly years as under the feeble Joseph, would have been concluded in six months by a warlike monarch like Murat, when the



great Spanish defeat at Ocana, exposed the then sickly and weakened British army, to certain destruction and capture, had the unwarlike King Joseph had the energy to attack it, as he might have done, with a victorious army nearly thrice as numerous.

If ever there was an officer and prince, who, by his superb appearance, his martial air, his frank and quiet southern manners, suited the Spaniards, it was he, assuredly, who inspired hardly more admiration and awe among the wild Cossacks and the gallant Poles, than among the proud, chivalrous Spaniards, loving equally that courage, splendid horsemanship and barbaric splendour of dress and arms, which would have made this "Magnificent Lazzarone," as the Emperor once called his brother-in-law of Naples, an ideal King for such a people, and an ally for France, so brave and powerful, that, at the head of 200,000 such superb soldiers as he could quickly have made of his warlike Spaniards, the rest of Europe, combined, could not have stood against Napoleon and Murat.

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THE ELEVATION  
OF  
JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF NAPLES,  
TO  
THE THRONE OF SPAIN

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In another Paper, entitled Don Manuel Godoy of Badajoz, the intrigues and events have been related which finally resulted in the formal abdication of the throne of Spain and the Indies by the Spanish Bourbons, in favour of the Emperor Napoleon, or of any one he would designate to wear that crown, and, also, the inducements offered them to take that step in the month of May, 1808, at Bayonne, France, whither they had been invited to come from Madrid to meet the Emperor who would come from Paris to receive them.

The treaties in that behalf with Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. including provisions for the benefit of the other members of the royal Spanish family, having been duly executed they departed from Bayonne to reside in the splendid new residences provided for them in France, and the Emperor Napoleon, thereupon, selected his brother Joseph, then King of Naples, to sit upon the Spanish throne. On the 6th of June, 1808, Joseph arrived from Naples at Bayonne where he was received by his imperial brother with royal honours, and on the same day proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies.

The Emperor had merely written his brother Joseph as follows: "King Charles, by a treaty which I

have just concluded with him, has ceded to me all his rights to the crown of Spain. . . . This crown I have destined for you. The Kingdom of Naples cannot be compared with Spain; there are eleven millions of inhabitants, a revenue of above 150 millions, and the possession of America. Besides this, it is the crown which will place you at Madrid, three days' journey from France, and which entirely defends one of its frontiers. At Madrid you are actually in France; Naples is at the other end of the world. I desire therefore that, immediately on the receipt of this letter, you will commit the regency to whomsoever you please, and the command of the troops to Marshal Jourdan, and that you set out for Bayonne by the shortest route possible, Turin, Mont Cenis and Lyons. . . . Keep the secret from everybody; as it is, it will only be suspected too readily. . . ."

Such was the simple and expeditious manner in which crowns were then disposed of, nay, even the crown of Charles V. and of Philip II.!

But the most energetic measures had already been adopted at Madrid to obtain declarations in favour of the new dynasty; and the leading authorities there, perplexed and bewildered at the unparalleled situation in which they were placed, and by the earnest exhortations to submission which they received from their lawful sovereign, Charles IV., as well as from Ferdinand VII., were, without much difficulty won over to the interests of the rising dynasty.

The junta of the government at Madrid had, indeed, at first protested against the abdications at Bayonne, but, after making certain reservations, were finally induced to conclude with the adoption of a resolution that

the choice of the Emperor should fall on his elder brother Joseph, the King of Naples. The municipality of Madrid also presented a petition to the same effect; and the Emperor, satisfied with having obtained the colour of public consent to his usurpation, then issued a proclamation convoking an Assembly of Notables, one hundred and fifty in number, to meet at Bayonne on the 15th of June.

On this occasion the Emperor addressed the following proclamation to the Spanish people:

"Spaniards! After a long agony, your nation was on the point of perishing; I saw your miseries and hastened to apply a remedy. Your grandeur, your power form an integral part of my own. Your princes have ceded to me their rights to the crown of Spain. I have no wish to reign over your provinces, but I am desirous of acquiring eternal titles to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is old; my mission is to pour into its veins the blood of youth. I will ameliorate all your institutions, and make you enjoy, if you second my efforts, the blessings of reform, without its collisions, its disorders, its convulsions. I have convoked a general assembly of deputations of your provinces and cities; I am desirous of ascertaining your wants by personal intercourse; I will then lay aside all the titles I have acquired, and place your glorious crown on the head of my second self, after having secured for you a constitution which may establish the sacred and salutary authority of the sovereign, with the liberties and privileges of the people.

"Spaniards! Reflect on what your fathers were; on what you now are! The fault does not lie in you, but in the constitution by which you have been governed.

Conceive the most ardent hopes and confidence in the results of your present situation, for I wish that your latest posterity should preserve the recollection of me, and say, *he was the regenerator of our country.*"

Certainly these were noble sentiments the Emperor thus addressed to the Spanish people, and in response the Spanish grandees issued the following fulsome proclamation to their countrymen, dated Bayonne, June 8, 1808:

"An irresistible sense of duty, an object as sacred as it is important, has made us quit our homes, and led us to the invincible Emperor of the French. We admit it; the sight of his glory, of his power, was fitted to dazzle us; but we arrived here already determined to address to him our reiterated supplications for the prosperity of a monarchy of which the fate is inseparably united with our own. But, judge of our surprise, when we were received by his imperial and royal majesty with a degree of kindness and humanity not less admirable than his power!!

"He has no other desire but that of our preservation and happiness. If he gives us a sovereign to govern us, it is his august brother Joseph, whose virtues are the admiration of his subjects. If he is engaged in modifying and correcting our institutions, it is in order that we may live in peace and happiness. If he is desirous that our finances should receive a new organization, it is in order to render our navy and army powerful and formidable to our enemies. Spaniards! Worthy of a better lot, avoid the terrible anarchy which threatens you. What benefit can you derive from the troubles fomented by malevolence or folly? Anarchy is the greatest curse which God can inflict upon mankind; during its reign,

unbridled license sacks, destroys, burns everything; worthy citizens, men of property, are invariably the first victims, and an abyss of horror follows its triumphs."

A proclamation was also issued by the new King Joseph, in which he accepted the cession of the crown of Spain and the Indies made to him by his august brother, Napoleon I., and at the same time he appointed Marshal Murat his lieutenant-general at Madrid.

The consent of Russia was already secured to all the changes contemplated in the Peninsula; and in order to reconcile the other courts of Europe to them, an elaborate circular note was addressed to all their cabinets, setting forth the benefits to the Continental powers which would follow upon them.

Whilst awaiting the arrival of Joseph from Naples, Napoleon, in conjunction with the Spanish deputations present at Bayonne, had drawn up the plan of a constitution, adapted at once to the age, and to the manners of Spain. It was determined that the junta should assemble in the ancient episcopal palace of Bayonne, which was arranged for the purpose; that there the King should be recognized and the constitution discussed, so as to give the appearance of a free and voluntary adoption.

Upon the arrival of Joseph, the junta offered the homage of the Spanish nation; of which, unfortunately for him, they represented the intelligence but not the passions. Several succeeding days were occupied in discussing the plan of the constitution: some changes were suggested and adopted. It was framed on the model of the French Constitution, with modifications adapted

to the customs of the Spaniards; and it contained, among others, the following provisions:

I. An hereditary monarchy, in the male line, in the order of primogeniture, reversible from the branch of Joseph to those of Louis and Jerome. Any union of the crown of Spain with the crown of France was expressly interdicted, and thus the independence of Spain was secured.

II. A senate composed of eighty members nominated by the King, was intrusted with the defense of the constitution, and was empowered to protect the liberty of the press and personal liberty; a commission being appointed to make known cases in which either freedom of the press or of persons should be violated.

III. A Cortes consisting of 172 members, arranged in the following proportions and order:

The Bench of the Clergy, 25 archbishops and bishops;

The Bench of the Nobility, 25 grandees, all on the first bench;

Sixty-two deputies from the provinces of Spain and the Indies;

Thirty from the principal towns; fifteen of the merchants and manufacturers; and fifteen of the arts and sciences. The first fifty consisting of peers were appointed by the King, but could not be displaced by him; the second class were elected by the cities and provinces; the third was appointed by the King out of lists presented to him by the tribunals and chambers of commerce and the universities; the colonies were constantly to have a deputation of twenty-two persons at the seat of government to superintend their interests.

IV. The finances and expenditure were to be settled by them at one sitting for three years; all exclusive ex-

emptions from taxation were abolished; entails permitted only to the amount of 20,000 piastres, and with the consent of the King; the deliberations of the Cortes were not to be public: none of their proceedings were to be published, under the penalties of treason.

V. A permanent magistracy, dispensing justice according to the forms of modern legislation, under the supreme jurisdiction of a high court.

VI. Finally, a Council of State, for the supreme regulation of the government, on the model of that of France.

Such was the Constitution of Bayonne, which was certainly alike adapted to the manners of Spain, and to the state of her political advancement. It made no mention of the Inquisition, of the Clergy, or the privileges of the Nobility; for it had been drawn up with a desire not to give umbrage to any class of the people. To the legislature itself was left the task of subsequently deducing consequences from the principles laid down in this act, which contained, indeed, the germ of the regeneration of Spain.

The discussions on the constitution being ended that instrument was adopted by acclamation; and thunders of applause shook the hall when the new King, in his robes of state, entered and laying his hand on the Gospel, took the oath of allegiance to the new constitution, after having made a speech expressive of the sentiments of devotion with which he was about to assume the government of Spain. At the close of these proceedings, which elicited tremendous acclamations, the assembly hastened to the Emperor at the Chateau de Marac, to lay at his feet the homage of their gratitude for the unparalleled services which he had rendered to their country.



It was said that, "there was, on this occasion, in the flattery of the Spanish Nobles a mixture of studied servility with Oriental grandiloquence, which was novel and agreeable to a sovereign who had exhausted all the arts of European adulation." In his address to him, M. Azanza, the president of the assembly of the grandees, said: "Sire! the junta of Spain, has accomplished the glorious task for which your majesty convened it in this city. It has accepted with as much eagerness as freedom, the Great Charter, which fixes upon a sure foundation the happiness of Spain! Happily for our country, an over-ruling Providence has employed your irresistible hand to snatch it from the abyss into which it was about to be precipitated. It is well that it was irresistible; for an inexplicable blindness has caused those who ought most to rejoice at this benefit to misapprehend it. But all Spain, Sire! will open its eyes. It will see that it required a total regeneration, and that from your majesty alone it could obtain it. Public evil was at its height; the agents of a feeble government devoured the public patrimony, or extended unceasingly the limits of arbitrary power; the finances were a chaos; the public debt an abyss; the period of total dissolution was approaching. To what other power but that of your imperial and royal majesty could it be reserved, not merely to arrest the evil, but entirely to remove it? Such are the wonders, Sire, which you have wrought in a few days, and which fill the world with astonishment."

However, one discordant note has been mentioned amid this scene of adulation: when the Duke del Infantado, at the head of the grandees delivered another address to the new sovereign he concluded it with the words:

"The laws of Spain do not permit us to go farther at

present. We await the decision of the nation, which can alone authorize us to give a freer vent to our sentiments." No words can convey an idea of the anger of the Emperor at this unexpected reservation. Instantly approaching the duke, he said, "As you are a gentleman, you should conduct yourself as such; and instead of disputing here on the words of an oath, which you will doubtless violate as soon as you have an opportunity, you would do better to withdraw at once, put yourself at the head of your party, and combat there openly and honourably. But you may rest assured, that if you take an oath here, and afterward fail in its performance, before eight days you shall be shot!" This violent rebuke intimidated the Spanish grandee, and the address was corrected; but the duke still retained his opinions, and ere long appeared in the ranks of his country combatting the French invaders.

Joseph, though transported with joy by the high position in which he found himself was, nevertheless, dismayed by the difficulties he beheld in perspective. Like all persons suddenly raised to greatness, he was less happy than jealous envy supposed. He received with a certain degree of alarm the sovereignty of Spain, which Murat had so ardently longed for; and his perplexed thoughts turned with regret to the fair Kingdom of Naples, which was wholly insufficient to satisfy the ambition of Murat. Joseph's countenance possessed few traces of the classic beauty which marked that of Napoleon, but, on the other hand, he possessed extreme amiability of manners, combined with some slight share of borrowed dignity.

The brothers of Napoleon, had, in their intercourse with him, contracted the facility of conversing on mili-

tary affairs, on diplomacy and government; and on all those subjects they possessed such an amount of general information as was requisite to make them feel at ease in the extraordinary positions to which the author of their fortunes had raised them; moreover, they were not wanting in natural intelligence.

The Spanish grandees, who were ignorant, and vain of their own greatness, had already been fascinated by the presence of Napoleon; and Joseph, by his amiable manners, and a display of the stock of information he had acquired in Naples as ruler, succeeded in pleasing and inspiring them with confidence in his capacity.

Servility is contagious; and the Spaniards who were gathered round the new King began to laud his virtues, and even to put faith in his high qualities. But that interested motives had much to do with this is apparent from the following degrading offer of Escoiquiz and the other counsellors of Ferdinand made to Joseph at this time:

"The subscribers have given the strongest proofs of their fidelity to the former government: they trust it will be considered as the surest pledge of their sincerity of the oath which they now take of obedience to the new constitution of their country, and fidelity to the King of Spain Joseph I. The generosity of your catholic majesty, your goodness and humanity induce us to hope that, considering the need which these princes have of a continuation of their services in the situations which they respectively held under the old dynasty, the magnanimity of your august majesty will induce you to continue them in the enjoyments of the estates and offices which they formerly held. Assured thus of the continuance of the posts which they have hitherto enjoyed, they

will ever prove faithful subjects to your majesty, and true Spaniards, ready to obey blindly even the smallest wish which your majesty may express." Signed; San Carlos, Juan Escoiquiz, Marquis Ayerlee, and others, June 2, 1808. (Nellerto, Vol. 1, p. 250.)

Joseph listened with favour to these petitioning grantees, and the ministry appointed by him, before his departure from Bayonne for Madrid, was mainly taken from these former ministers and counsellors of Ferdinand, and when he entered his new Kingdom he was surrounded with the highest grantees and most illustrious titles of Spain.

It was urgent that Joseph should take possession of his throne forthwith. It was known that the Spanish people, irritated at the blood-shed of May 2nd at Madrid, and indignant at the artifice which had enticed the Bourbon family to Bayonne, were already showing symptoms of discontent; that insurrectionary movements had broken out in Andalusia, in Aragon, and in the Asturias, and that the very route by which the King had to travel to reach Madrid was scarcely safe.

Napoleon, beginning to perceive the real state of feeling among the masses of the Spanish people, and unwilling to send his brother into a foreign country in a way which would not command respect, prepared new military forces for his escort, composed of four fine regiments of old infantry, a body of Polish lancers, and a superb regiment of cavalry, raised by Murat in the Duchy of Berg, making a full division of veteran troops, amidst which Joseph was to advance on Madrid by short stages, thereby affording the troops the indulgence of slow marches in hot weather, and giving the Spaniards ample opportunity of seeing their new King.

Joseph departed from Bayonne on the 9th of July, attended by this imposing escort and preceded and followed by upwards of a hundred carriages, filled with the members of the junta. He was accompanied as far as the frontier by his imperial brother where he affectionately took leave of him, and crossed the Bidassoa into Spain, amid the roar of artillery and all the pomp of regal magnificence. The Emperor recommended him to be of good heart, whilst he hinted only partially what his keen intelligence already enabled him to foresee. The irresolute spirit of Joseph would have sunk under the disclosures which his brother could have made; and yet Napoleon's keen glance, though it enabled him to see the impending future, could only discern a small part of the evils destined to result from the fatal error committed at Bayonne.

Well! The die was now cast! The first act in the grand drama of the succession to the Spanish throne had been concluded, amid the enthusiastic demonstrations of the assembled grandees; but the new monarch of Spain and the Indies had, from the very outset of his progress towards his capital, been met with the cold silence and sullen looks of undisguised hostility by the mass of his subjects, which were only restrained from going to greater length by the evident readiness and ability of his powerful escort to protect him: the adulations of the gilded throng at Bayonne found no echo south of the Pyrenees, and the curtain was now beginning to rise upon the grim tragedy of the PENINSULAR WAR, the horrors of which were only to be paralleled by the awful catastrophe to France and the Grand Army amid the snows of Russia.

As has been said of this too easy triumph of Napo-

leonic ambition, "Not a shot was fired, not a sword was drawn to effect this vast transfer: and the object for which Louis XIV. unsuccessfully struggled during fourteen years was gained in six months." The means employed by the Emperor Napoleon to induce the Bourbon family to leave the security of their own dominions to come to Bayonne, and place themselves in his power to settle their disputes as arbiter, when he only designed to extort the abdications of both Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII., have been unsparingly condemned by many writers; but, without discussing the justice or the injustice of such opinions, let the answer as to the consequences to France and to himself be given in his own words:

*"It was that unhappy war in Spain which ruined me.* The results have irrevocably proved that I was in the wrong. There were serious faults in the execution. One of the greatest was that of having attached so much importance to the dethronement of the Bourbons. Charles IV. was worn out; I might have given a liberal constitution to the Spanish nation, and charged Ferdinand with its execution. If he had put it in force in good faith, Spain would have prospered, and put itself in harmony with our new institutions; if he failed in the performance of his engagements, he would have met with his dismissal from the Spaniards themselves.

"You are about to undertake, said Escoiquiz to me, one of the labours of Hercules, where, if you please, nothing but child's play is to be encountered. The unfortunate war in Spain proved a real wound, *the first cause of the misfortunes of France.* If I could have foreseen that that affair would have caused me so much vexation and chagrin, I would never have engaged in it. But

after the first steps were taken in the affair, it was impossible for me to recede. When I saw those *imbeciles* quarreling and trying to dethrone each other, I thought I might as well take advantage of it to dispossess a hostile family; but I was not the contriver of their disputes."

Says Napier, "There are many reasons why Napoleon *should have meddled with the interior affairs of Spain*: there seems to be no good one for his manner of doing it. His great error was that he looked only to the court, and treated the people with contempt. Had he taken care to bring the people and their old government into hostile contact first, instead of appearing as the treacherous arbitrator of a domestic quarrel, he would have been hailed as the deliverer of a great people."

King Joseph reached Madrid on the 20th of July, having lingered for several days at Burgos and Vittoria, and received there the oaths of allegiance from the Council of State, the Council of the Indies, and that of the finances. Eye-witnesses relate that his reception at the capital was melancholy in the extreme: orders had been given that the houses of the inhabitants should be decked out to receive their new sovereign, but very few obeyed the injunction. A crowd assembled to see the brilliant cortège and splendid guards which accompanied the King, but no cheers or applauses were heard. Every countenance bore a mournful expression; hardly any ladies appeared at the windows, notwithstanding the passionate fondness of the Spanish women for such displays. The bells of all the churches rang together, but they resembled rather the dismal toll at the interment of the dead than the merry chime which announces a joyful event to the living.

Finally, on the 24th of July, he was in his own capital

once more proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, with all the solemnities and the magnificence of display customary upon such occasions, and thus was brought the intrusive monarch and his new subjects into direct contact.

The new constitution he offered them was admirably calculated to draw forth all the rich resources of the kingdom; compared to the old system it was a blessing, and it would have been received as such under different circumstances, but now arms were to decide its fate, for in every province the cry of war had been raised. In Catalonia, in Valencia, in Andalusia, Estremadura, Aragon, Galicia, and the Asturias even, through which Joseph had just passed, the people were gathering and fiercely declaring their determination to resist French intrusion.

On his side the French emperor had already sent upwards of 80,000 troops into the northern and central parts of Spain, consisting, unfortunately for his designs, in great part of raw young conscripts, altogether too weak for the arduous work ahead of them, 17,000 already encumbering the hospitals, and totally unable to check the great insurrectionary movements in their initial stages, when, if ever, it might have been possible to repress war.

Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. having renounced their rights to the throne, and the government, the court and the nobility having declared in favour of the new dynasty, Joseph indulged the hope that the agitation among the masses having neither organization nor intelligent leadership, as he supposed, would soon die out and that the influence of the classes supporting him would have its natural weight upon the lower, ignorant order



of the people. But the new dynasty lacked one element of strength and support, which, in a country like Spain in that day, was vital, and this was THE CHURCH, the inveterate enemy in every country of revolutionary innovation.

The Church in Spain remembering the banishment of the clergy and the confiscation of all ecclesiastical property in France under the decrees of the Revolutionary Convention, and fearing that the success of the new French dynasty, with its new constitution abolishing special rights, privileges and exemptions from taxation, of which the Church enjoyed so large a share, would occasion immense loss to it, instantly resolved to resist it by every means in its power.

The ecclesiastics in Spain were very numerous, amounting, according to the census taken in 1787, to 22,480 parish priests, 43,149 mendicant friars, and 47,710 regular clergy belonging to monasteries or other public religious establishments. The classification of the population was as follows:

Total inhabitants .....	10,409,879
“ families engaged in agriculture.....	872,000
“ owners of soil they cultivated.....	360,000
“ farmers holding under landlords.....	512,000
“ ecclesiastical proprietors .....	6,216
“ number of cities, towns and villages...	25,463
“ of which are free cities or burghs.....	12,071
“ of which are subject to a feudal superior	9,466
“ of which are subject to an ecclesiastical superior .....	3,926

(See Hard. x, 173.)

The historian Sir A. Alison makes the following inter-

esting observations upon the character, functions and activities of the clergy in Spain at that period:

"The influence of this great body was immense. Independent of their spiritual ascendancy in a country more strongly attached than any in Europe to the Romish church, they possessed, as temporal proprietors, an unbounded sway over their flocks. As in all other countries, it had long been felt that the Church was the best and most indulgent landlord; the ecclesiastical estates, which were very numerous and extensive, were much better cultivated in general than any in the hands of lay proprietors; and the tenantry held their possessions under them for such moderate rents, and by so secure a tenure, that they had long enjoyed almost the advantages and consideration of actual land-holders. Nor was this all: the charity and beneficence of the monks had set on foot, in every part of the country, extensive institutions, through which, more than any others by which they could be affected, the distresses of the poor had been relieved. They partook in a great degree of the character of the *hospice*, particularly in the northern provinces. To the peasant they often served as banking establishments, where none other existed in the province, and as such essentially contributed to agricultural improvement. The friars acted as school-masters, advocates, physicians and apothecaries. Besides feeding and clothing the poor, and visiting the sick, they afforded spiritual consolation. They were considerate landlords and indulgent masters; peacemakers in domestic broils, a prop of support in family misfortune; they provided periodical amusements and festivities for the peasants; advanced them funds if assailed with misfortune; furnished them with seed if their harvest had failed.

"Most of the convents had *fundaciones* or endowments for professors who taught rhetoric and philosophy, besides keeping schools open for the poor; they also supplied parochial ministers when wanted, and their preachers were considered the best in Spain.

"Superficial or free-thinking travelers, observing that the aged, the sick and the destitute were always to be found in numbers round the convent gates, supposed that they created the suffering which they were so instrumental in relieving, and, in consequence, that the Church was chargeable with the augmentation of pauperism; forgetting that the poor ever will be assembled together round those establishments where their sufferings are relieved; and that to represent such beneficent institutions as the cause of this distress, is just as absurd as it would be to decry fever hospitals because their wards are generally filled with typhus patients, or Poor Laws in Ireland because a large proportion of its *two millions* of present destitute inhabitants will hereafter infallibly be found in the neighborhood of the work-houses where parochial relief is about to be dealt out."

And commenting on its great influence in the Spanish contest, he proceeds:

"It is observed with surprise by General Foy, that in every age the king, the Church, and the people have combined together in Spain; an alliance utterly inexplicable on the principles of the French revolutionary school, but susceptible of an easy solution when the benefits which the ecclesiastical bodies conferred both on the crown, in standing between it and the encroachments of the nobility, and the peasantry, in averting from them the evils of poverty, are taken into consideration. The whole course of events during the Peninsular War demon-

strated that this influence was established on the most durable foundations; everywhere the parish priests were the chief promoters of the insurrection; it was their powerful voice which roused the people to resistance and many of the most renowned leaders of the desultory bands who maintained the contest when the regular forces were destroyed, came from the ecclesiastical ranks.

"The clergy, both regular and parochial, early perceived the total destruction of *their* interests which would ensue from the triumph of the French invasion; they recollected the decrees of the convention against the clergy, and the horrors of the war in La Vendee; and though Napoleon had to a certain extent restored the altar, yet they were well aware that even his powerful hand had been able to do this only in a very ineffectual manner; that religion was tolerated in France, not re-established; and that the indigent *cures* who drew a wretched pittance yearly from the public treasury to the north of the Pyrenees, were very different, both in consideration and influence, from the dignified clergy in possession of their own estates, who formerly constituted so important a part of the French monarchy.

"It was this body, possessed of such influence, and animated with such feelings, who in Spain proved the real leaders of the people; who in the absence of the government, the nobility and the army, boldly threw themselves into the breach; and organizing out of the strength and affections of the peasantry the means of prolonged resistance, rendered the Peninsula the charnel-house of the French armies, and the grave of revolutionary power."

The Bull of Excommunication against the Emperor Napoleon published by the Pope, Pius VII., the follow-

ing June, while having no reference to what had occurred in Spain, was, nevertheless, eagerly welcomed by the fierce Spanish clergy, who used this event to incite the ignorant, fanatical peasantry to still greater hatred of the new King, and the new constitution of which they knew nothing, and would believe anything said against it—and urged their blind followers to redoubled cruelty in their methods of warfare, already sufficiently horrible, by proclaiming from their altars that, “No mercy should be shown to men who served under the excommunicated monster Bonaparte, for whom there could be no mercy in this world, nor pardon in the next.”

The Revolution and its chiefs had indeed crushed the Church in France and Italy, but it took its revenge in bloody, terrible fashion in the Peninsula, for without the courage and inspiration of the Church, that contest could not have lasted six months. Napoleon had given to Spain a good King, and an excellent constitution, but the Spaniards hurled that prince from his throne, and riveted again upon their own limbs the fetters of the unrelenting despotism he had loosened.

The British fleets, swarming around the coasts of Spain, without waiting for orders from home, at once espoused the cause of the insurgents. Alison says, “Future ages will find it difficult to credit the enthusiasm and transport with which the tidings of the insurrection in Spain were received in the British Islands.” The King exclaimed in Parliament:

“The Spanish nation, thus nobly struggling against the usurpation and tyranny of France, can no longer be considered by me as the enemy of Great Britain, but is recognized by me as a natural friend and ally.” All the Spanish prisoners of war were immediately liberated,

armed, clothed and hurried off to Spain in English ships to swell the insurgent host. The vast energies of the British navy were enlisted to land in the Spanish harbours money, arms, and military supplies, with a profusion which amazed the Spaniards, while the British army was placed in readiness to descend upon the new theatre of combat with its redoubtable French antagonist, whose gigantic mistake at Bayonne had given this fatal opening for an unequal contest between a French army on the one side, and all the military power of England, backed by the united support of more than 12,000,000 Spaniards and Portuguese, on the other.

Joseph was appalled by the storm of war which had so suddenly burst upon him, and wrote to the Emperor: "I have nobody for me. We need 50,000 veteran troops and fifty millions of francs. If you delay we shall want 100,000 troops and a hundred and twenty-five millions in money." He also complained bitterly of the actions with which the French troops retaliated the ferocity of the Spaniards. The Emperor answered:

"Have patience and good courage. I will not let you want any resource. You shall have troops in sufficient quantity. Do not set yourself up as the accuser of my soldiers; to their devotedness you and I owe what we are. They have to do with brigands who murder them, and whom they must repress by terror. Strive to gain the affection of the Spaniards. But do not discourage the army; that would be an irreparable fault."

It is not within the purview of this Paper to narrate the momentous events of the sixteen months succeeding Joseph's arrival at Madrid in July, 1808, to November, 1809, nor to attempt even a brief outline or synopsis of his troubled reign till forced to evacuate it for the second

and last time in 1813. But it may be of interest to recall the particulars of one great opportunity—out of several nearly as favourable—in Joseph's prosperous days, to bring the war to a triumphant conclusion, and fix himself firmly upon his throne, had he only possessed the ability and energy to follow it up, or, at the least, to have refrained from meddling with his able commanders, who would certainly have done so, had he not over-ruled their advice. For Joseph made some pretensions to military ability, perhaps, as a sort of family trait which he considered he should possess by heredity, as he had, in fact, never had any actual training to develop that species of genius. This golden opportunity was presented by

#### THE BATTLE OF OCANA,

November 19, 1809, at which the King was present with his household guards, as an interested spectator, having had to travel only a short distance, from his enchanting palace and grounds at Aranjuez, in order to ascend out of the valley of the Tagus to the level of the wide, desolate plains of La Mancha and arrive among the French troops already assembling upon the field of battle before the little town of Ocana, where was fought the greatest battle engaged in by the Spanish armies, acting alone, in the whole Peninsular war, and with much the largest forces of all arms; surpassing even many of the great victories of the Emperor in its losses and trophies, it was the most disastrous defeat sustained by the Spanish during the war. Strangely enough, no very complete description exists, in any one account, of the details of this astonishing victory over the great Spanish army by the greatly inferior French force under Marshals Mortier and Soult.

Early in the month of November, 1809, the Central Junta, or, as it also termed itself, the Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies, sitting at Seville, determined, against the urgent remonstrance of Sir Arthur Wellesley, to inaugurate a grand movement for the recovery of Madrid, and, at the same time, beat and chase beyond the Ebro, the formidable French army protecting that capital and King Joseph.

Napier, who served long in Spain under Lord Wellington, says of the Spaniards that, "In the arrangement of warlike affairs, difficulties being always overlooked by the Spaniards, they are carried on from one fantasy to another so swiftly, that the first conception of an enterprise is immediately followed by a confident anticipation of complete success, which continues until the hour of battle, and then when it might be of use, generally abandons them. Now, the Central Junta having to deceive the people, affirmed that Sir Arthur Wellesley had retreated to the frontiers of Portugal at the very moment when the French might have been driven to the Pyrenees, came very soon to believe this, their own absurd calumny, and resolved to send the army at La Carolina headlong against Madrid: nay, such was their pitch of confidence, that forenaming the civil and military authorities, they arranged a provisional system for the future administration of the capital, with a care, that they denied to the army which was to put them in possession."

The general Don Juan de Areizaga was chosen to conduct this enterprise, though his only recommendation was, that, at the petty battle of Elcanitz Field-Marshal Blake had noticed his courage. And being of a quick, lively turn, and as confident as the Junta could desire, readily undertook to drive the French from Madrid.



This movement was to commence early in November, and, from three different directions, nearly 90,000 men were to be put in motion against Madrid, precisely on that plan of operations which Sir Arthur Wellesley had just denounced as certain to prove disastrous. Partly to deceive the enemy, partly because they would never admit of any opposition to a favourite scheme, the Junta now spread a report that the British army was to co-operate, and permitted General Areizaga to march, under the impression that it was so.

Nothing could be more untrue. Sir Arthur Wellesley being at this period at Seville, held repeated conferences with the Spanish ministers and the members of the Junta, warned his auditors that the project in question was peculiarly ill-judged, and would end in the destruction of their army. The Spanish ministers, far from attending to his advice, did not even officially inform him of Areizaga's march until the 18th of November, the very day before the fatal termination of the campaign.

#### OPERATIONS IN LA MANCHA

Areizaga, after publishing an address to the troops on the 3rd of November, commenced his march from La Carolina, with about sixty thousand men, of whom eight thousand were cavalry and sixty pieces of artillery. Several British officers and private gentlemen, and the Baron Crossand, an Austrian military agent, attended the headquarters, which was a scene of drinking, gayety and boasting: for Areizaga, never dreaming of misfortune, gave a free scope to his social vivacity.

The Spanish army marched by the roads of Manzanares and Damiel, with scarcely any commissariat prep-

aration and without any military equipment save arms; but the men were young, robust, full of life and confidence, and being without impediments of any kind, made nearly thirty miles each day. They moved, however, in a straggling manner, quartering and feeding as they could in the villages along their route and with so little propriety, that the peasantry of La Mancha universally abandoned their dwellings, and carried off their cattle and effects.

Although the French could not at first give credit to the rumors of this strange incursion, they were aware that some great movement was in agitation, and only uncertain from what point, and for what specific object the effort would be made. Marshal Jourdan had returned to France, Marshal Soult was now major-general of the French armies, and under his advice King Joseph, who was inclined to abandon Madrid and retire behind the Ebro, prepared to meet the coming blow. But the French army was principally posted towards Talavera, for the false reports had, in some measure, succeeded in deceiving the French as to the approach of the English army under Sir Arthur Wellesley; and it was impossible at once to conceive the full insanity of the Junta.

#### COMBAT OF DOS BARRIOS

Areizaga, ignorant of what was passing around him, and seeing only Sebastiani's cavalry on the table-land between the town of Dos Barrios and Ocana, concluded that they were unsupported, and directed the Spanish horse to charge them without delay. The French thus pressed, drew back behind the infantry which was close at hand, and unexpectedly opened a brisk fire on the

Spanish squadrons which were thrown into confusion, and being charged in that state by the whole mass of the French cavalry, were beaten with the loss of two hundred prisoners and two pieces of cannon.

Areizaga's main body was, however, coming up, Sebastiani fell back upon Ocana, and the next morning took up a position on some heights lining the south bank of the Tagus and covering Aranjuez; the Spaniards continued their advance and occupied Dos Barrios, but there their impetuous movement ceased. They had come down from the Sierra Morena like a stream of lava, and burst into La Mancha with a rapidity that scarcely gave time for rumor to precede them. This swiftness of execution, generally so valuable in war, was here but an outbreak of folly. Without any knowledge of the French position or numbers, without any plan of action, Areizaga had rushed like a maniac into the midst of his foes, and then suddenly stood still trembling and bewildered. From the 10th to the 13th of November, he halted at Dos Barrios, and informed his government of Sebastiani's stubborn resistance to his cavalry, and of the doubts which now for the first time assailed his own mind.

It was then the Junta, changing their plans, eagerly demanded the assistance of the British army, and ordered the Dukes of Del Parque and Albuquerque to unite at Talavera, and the Junta did not hesitate to inform their generals and the public, that Sir Arthur Wellesley was advancing rapidly up the valley of the Tagus.

Wherefore Ariezaga, thus encouraged, and having had time to recover from his first incertitude, made on the 14th a flank march by his right to Santa Cruz de la Zarza, intending to cross the Tagus at Villa Maurique, turn the French left, and penetrate to Madrid by the

eastern side; but during his stay at Dos Barrios the French forces had been concentrating from every quarter. Soult was awake to his adversary's projects, yet could not believe that he would dare such a movement unless certain of support from the British army, and therefore the different corps remained quiet on the eleventh, waiting for a report from his outposts at Oropesa. In the night it arrived, stating that rumors of a combined Spanish and English army being on the march were rife, but that the scouts could not discover that the allied force was actually within several marches.

Soult, now judging, that although the rumors should be true, his central position would enable him to defeat Areizaga and return by the way of Toledo in time to meet the allies in the valley of the Tagus, put all his troops once more into activity. On the 18th, Areizaga destroyed his bridges across the Tagus, called in his parties and drew up for battle on the heights of Santa Cruz de la Zarza.

Hitherto the continual movements of the Spanish army, and the unsettled plans of the Spanish general, rendered it difficult for the French to fix a field of battle, but now Areizaga's march to Santa Cruz had laid his line of operations bare. In the impossibility to comprehend the plans of an enemy which was almost without plans, Marshal Soult had so disposed his troops as to meet all possible emergencies.

#### CAVALRY COMBAT AT OCANA

On the afternoon of the 18th General Sebastiani approached the Tagus with the cuirassiers of Milhaud, of whom three regiments only were actually at his com-

mand, the two others having been sent to reconnoitre. The general crossed the river by the bridge of La Reyna with his cavalry, leaving behind his infantry, who were still on the march. When the cavalry left the banks of the Tagus, following the route from La Mancha, they clambered up by pretty steep declivities to the edge of a vast plateau which extends from Ocana almost uninterruptedly as far as the Sierra Morena and forms what is called the Plateau of La Mancha.

General Sebastiani, coming to the farthest edge of this plateau, perceived the Spanish cavalry which protected the main body of the army of Areizaga, marching from Santa Cruz upon Ocana. These troops presented a mass of over 4,000 horsemen, well-mounted, well-armed, and presenting a bold appearance. Having only about 900 men at hand General Milhaud prepared to retire, but fortunately General Paris had hurried forward to his assistance with the Polish lancers and the 10th regiment of chasseurs; General Sebastiani had then about 1,500 horse at his command.

Encouraged by their great superiority of numbers the Spanish horse moved forward to charge the French divisions: but Milhaud was at the head of those redoubtable cuirassiers who had appeared with glory in all the great battles of Europe since the accession of Napoleon. The Spaniards came on at a trot, and Sebastiani directed Paris with the regiment of chasseurs and the Polish lancers, to turn and fall upon the right flank of the approaching Spanish squadrons, which being executed with great vigour, especially by the Poles, caused considerable confusion, which the Spanish commander endeavoured to remedy by closing to the assailed flank. But to effect this he formed his left-centre in one vast

column, whereupon General Milhaud, seizing the opportunity, charged headlong into the midst of it with his reserve of cuirassiers, and the enormous mass yielding to the shock, fell into confusion, and finally gave way in great disorder. Many were slain, including almost the entire regiment of royal carabineers, the pride of Castile, several hundred wounded and captured, together with many hundreds of fine horses, of which the French cavalry were in much need for remounts. The loss of the French bore no proportion in men, but General Paris was killed, and several superior officers were wounded in the desperate mêlée.

This unexpected encounter with such a force of the hostile cavalry, led Marshal Soult to believe that the Spanish general aware of his error, was endeavouring to recover his line of operations. The examination of prisoners confirmed this opinion, and in the night, the reports of officers sent towards Villa Maurique arrived, all agreeing that only a rear-guard was to be seen at Santa Cruz de la Zarza. It then became clear that the Spaniards were on the march, and that a battle could be fought the next day.

In fact, Areizaga had retraced his steps by a flank movement through Villa Rubia and Noblejas, with the intention of falling upon Soult's forces as they opened out from Aranjuez. He arrived on the morning of the 19th at Ocana, but judging from the cavalry action the day before, that the French could attack first, drew up his whole army on the same plain, in two lines, a quarter of a mile asunder.

Ocana is covered on the north by a ravine, which commencing gently half a mile eastward of the town, runs deepening and with a curve to the west and finally

connects itself with gullies and hollows whose waters run off to the Tagus.

Behind the deepest part of this ravine the Spanish left wing was posted, crossing the main road from Aranjuez to Dos Barrios: one flank rested on the gullies, the other on the town of Ocana. The centre was in front of the town, which was held by a strong force of Spanish infantry as a post of reserve, but the right wing stretched in the direction of Noblejas along the edge of a gentle ridge *in front* of the shallow part of the ravine. The cavalry was on the flank and rear of the right wing. Behind the army there was an immense plain, but closed in and fringed toward Noblejas with rich olive woods, which were occupied by infantry to protect the passage of the Spanish baggage train, still filing by the road from la Zarza. Such were Areizaga's dispositions.

King Joseph passed the night of the 18th in preparing his forces. The whole of the cavalry, consisting of nine regiments, was given to Sebastiani. Four divisions of infantry, with the exception of one regiment left at Aranjuez to guard the bridge, were placed under the command of Marshal Mortier, who was also empowered, if necessary, to direct the movements of the cavalry. The royal guards remained in reserve with the King; the artillery was commanded by General Senarmont, and Marshal Soult directed the whole of the movements.

About 45,000 Spanish infantry, 7,000 cavalry and sixty pieces of artillery were in line. The French force was only 24,000 infantry, 5,000 sabres and lances, and fifty guns, including the battery of the royal guard.

The Spanish general, whose ignorance of war was equal to his presumption, now perceived his danger, but his position was miserably defective, and proved one

great cause of the unheard-of disaster which followed. The left wing, fifteen thousand strong, was placed *behind* a deep ravine, which it could not cross without falling into confusion; the centre was in advance of the town of Ocana, and the right in *front* of the same ravine, which ran along the whole line; so that the one wing was without a retreat in case of disaster, the other without the means of attacking the enemy in the event of success. The extremity of Areizaga's right wing was uncovered, save by his cavalry, who were, although superior in number to the French horsemen, quite dispirited by the rough handling and rout they had met with in the furious shock with the cuirassiers in the bloody action of the preceding evening, and now regarded them with dread. These circumstances dictated the movements of the French and their order of attack.

### BATTLE OF OCANA

Before day-break on the 19th of November, the King marched with the intention of falling upon the Spaniards wherever he could meet with them. At Antiguera his troops, quitting the highroad, turned to their left, gained the table-land of Ocana, somewhat beyond the centre of the Spanish position, and discovered Areizaga's army in order of battle. The French cavalry instantly forming to the front, covered the advance of the infantry, which drew up in successive lines as the divisions arrived on the plain. The Spanish out-posts fell back, and were followed by the French skirmishers, who spread along the hostile front and opened a sharp fire.

Totally unequal to such a crisis, Areizaga took post



at break of day in one of the steeples of Ocana, behind his centre, where he remained during the whole battle, neither giving orders nor sending succour to any part of his lines. Thus left to themselves, however, his troops at first made a gallant defence. At ten o'clock, Sebastiani's cavalry gaining ground to his left, turned the Spanish right. General Laval with his division of infantry consisting of two brigades of Germans and Poles, in columns of regiments, each having a battalion deployed in front, followed the cavalry and drove General Zayas from the olive-woods. Gerard with his division of excellent French regiments, arranged in the same manner, followed Laval's division in second line, and General Dessolles menaced the Spanish centre with one portion of his troops, while another lined the edge of the ravine to support the skirmishers and hold in check their left wing. The King remained in reserve with his guards, composed largely of Spaniards in his service. Thus the French order of battle was in two columns: the principal one flanked by the cavalry, directed against and turning the Spanish right, the second keeping the Spanish centre in check, and each being supported by the reserves. These dispositions were completed at eleven o'clock, at which hour, Laval's division advanced to the attack, preceded by Senarmont's terrible battery of thirty guns, the effect of which had been so severely experienced by the Russians at Friedland, which opened a shattering fire on Areizaga's centre. Six guns played at the same time across the ravine against the Spanish left massed behind it, and six others swept down the deep hollow to clear it of the light troops. The Spaniards there, however, stood firm and with loud shouts awaited the onset of the enemy, while from the

centre of their line sixteen guns opened with murderous effect upon Laval's division, as it was pressing on towards the right. To mitigate the fire of this battery, a French battalion, rushing out at full speed, seized a small eminence close to the Spanish guns, and a counter battery was immediately planted there. Then the Spaniards gave back, their skirmishers were swept out of the ravine by a flanking fire of grape, and Senarmont immediately drawing the artillery from the French right, took Ocana as his pivot, and prolonging his fire to the left raked Areizaga's right wing in its whole length.

During this cannonade, Laval, constantly pressing forward, obliged the Spaniards to change their front by withdrawing the right wing *behind* the shallow part of the ravine, which, as has been pointed out, it stood in *front* of when the battle commenced. By this change, the whole Spanish army, still drawn up in two lines, at the distance of a quarter of a mile asunder, was pressed into somewhat of a convex form with the town of Ocana in the center, and hence Senarmont's artillery tore their ranks with a greater destruction than before. Nevertheless, encouraged by observing the comparatively feeble body of infantry approaching them, the Spaniards suddenly retook the offensive, and their fire redoubling dismounted several of Senarmont's guns; Marshal Mortier himself was wounded slightly, Laval severely and two of his aides-de-camp killed, while the whole division was thrown into disorder and gave back.

The moment was critical, and Mortier lost no time in exhortations to Laval's troops, but, like a great commander, instantly brought up Gerard's French regiments through the intervals in the line of the retreating Germans and Poles, and displayed a front of fresh troops,

keeping one regiment in square on the left flank; for he expected that Areizaga's powerful cavalry, which still remained in the plain, would charge for the victory, but it received no orders from Areizaga. Gerard's fire soon threw the first Spanish line into disorder, and meanwhile Dessolles, who hitherto had contented himself with firing over the ravine, the depth of which at that point presented an embarrassing obstacle, now hesitated no longer to cross where the Spaniards appeared to be shaken. His battalions, with a loud shout, descended its steep sides, charged upon the opposite side upon the Spanish, driving them rapidly back upon Ocana which he succeeded in taking at the point of the bayonet, and issued forth on the other side.

The light cavalry of the King's guard, followed by the infantry, then poured rapidly through the town, where Areizaga was chased from his steeple, and instantly took to flight. The French cavalry, placed at the opposite wing, galloped in among the Spanish cavalry which escorted the baggage towards the road from Santa Cruz to Ocana, dispersed it, and then threw themselves among the broken and flying masses of infantry, while Sebastiani, with a rapid charge, cut off six thousand infantry and obliged them to surrender. The Spanish cavalry, which had only suffered a little from the cannonade, and had never made an effort to turn the tide of battle, now drew off entirely, having, plainly, no stomach for another encounter with the redoubtable cuirassiers, or a charge upon the advancing lines of French bayonets, and the second line of infantry gave ground as the front line fell back upon it in confusion. Areizaga, confounded and bewildered, had ordered the left wing, which had scarcely fired a shot, to retreat, and then rapidly quitted

the field himself. Though stripped of most of its artillery, and having no longer any cavalry to arrest the hostile pursuit this huge mass of infantry did not, at first, give way to panic, and for half an hour after this, the superior officers who remained endeavoured to keep the troops together in the plain and strove to reach the main road leading to Dos Barrios; but Gerard's and Dessolles' divisions being connected after passing Ocana, pressed on with steady rapidity, while the Polish lancers and a regiment of chasseurs, outflanking the Spanish right, continually increased the confusion: finally, Sebastiani, after securing his prisoners, came up again like a whirlwind, and charged full in the front with five regiments of Milhaud's cuirassiers and dragoons. Then the whole immense mass of the Spanish infantry broke up in the wildest disorder and fled each man for himself across the plain; but on the right of the routed multitude, a deep ravine leading from Yepes to Dos Barrios, in an oblique direction, continually contracted the space, and the pursuing cavalry arriving first at Dos Barrios, headed off nearly ten thousand bewildered men and forced them to surrender. The remainder turned their faces to all quarters, and such was the rout, that the French horsemen, spreading out from Ocana like a fan, thundered in pursuit over the wide and desolate plains of La Mancha which extend to the south towards the Sierra Morena. To their credit, they inflicted no rigorous execution in this pursuit, and wearied at length with collecting prisoners, the French merely took their arms from the fugitives, desiring them to go home, telling them in raillery that "war was a trade which they were not fit for."

This fatal battle commenced at eleven o'clock: before

two o'clock thirty pieces of artillery, a hundred and twenty carriages, twenty-five stand of colours, three generals, six hundred inferior officers, and eighteen thousand privates were taken, and the pursuit was still hot.

Meanwhile the First corps under Marshal Victor had crossed the Tagus by a ford at Villa Maurique, and followed upon Areizaga's traces; at Villatobas the light cavalry captured twelve hundred carriages, and a little farther on, took a thousand of the fugitives who were making for Tarancon; at La Guardia they joined Sebastiani's horsemen, and the whole continuing the pursuit to Lillo, made five hundred more prisoners, together with three hundred horses.

This finished the operations of the day; only 1,800 cannon-shot had been fired, and an army of more than 50,000 men had been ruined and completely disorganized and dispersed. The French lost 1,700 men, killed and wounded; the Spaniards 5,000 killed and wounded, and before night-fall all the baggage and military carriages, 3,000 excellent horses, of which the French army stood much in need, forty-five pieces of artillery, 30,000 muskets and 26,000 prisoners were in the hands of the conquerors!

Three days had sufficed to dissipate the storm on the side of La Mancha, and such was the wreck of the army, which lately numbered more than 50,000 combatants, that, ten days after the battle, Areizaga could not collect a single battalion to defend the passes of the Sierra Morena. That the Spanish were brave and zealous in the cause of their country, was clear from the multitudes who in every quarter thronged to its standards: that they were enduring in adversity, was manifest from the

unparalleled tenacity with which they maintained the contest, after reverses and under circumstances which would have overwhelmed the resistance of any other people. Yet with all these admirable qualities they had everywhere been unfortunate. Such was the strength of Castilian pride and conceit, that no disasters could convince them they were not superior to the French troops in the open field, and to the end of the war the Spanish generals were possessed of a perfect mania for fighting pitched battles with the veterans against whom the well-trained and well-equipped armies of Austria, Prussia and Russia had contended in vain, and with even more disastrous results.

A curious proof of the approaching military exhaustion of the French Empire at this time (1809) was afforded by the nationality of the troops at Ocana on the French side. The so-called "French" armies of the time were drawn from all parts of the Empire, and from the dependent states: thus, at that battle there were, in addition to Frenchmen, at least troops of the following States, viz.: Poland, Holland, Baden, Nassau, Hesse-Darmstadt, Frankfort, besides the Spaniards in Joseph's service—while in 1812, sixteen nations, like so many chained dogs, took part in the invasion of Russia.

Such troops could not have the spirit of a homogeneous army. Already, in 1808, the Austrian ambassador, Metternich, had written from Paris to his court at Vienna: "It is no longer the nation that fights: the present war (Spain) is Napoleon's war: it is not even that of his army." But the Emperor himself was not blind to this ominous fact and was already aware of the danger to the Empire from its own extent. In the silence of his

cabinet his secretary Meneval sometimes heard him murmur, "*L'arc est trop longtemps tendu!*"

But the unwarlike King Joseph, highly delighted with this great victory, which he hoped would at length put an end to the contest, returned with the greater part of his army to make a triumphal entrance into Madrid, instead of instantly moving against Wellington, with the powerful, victorious force at his command from the battle-field of Ocana, and with all the conditions so much in his favour that the fairest opportunity ever presented of expelling the English from the Peninsula was thus thrown away. Joseph preferred being in Madrid to spending any time in the camps of his armies. Coldly received by the French troops, who beheld in him neither a friend nor a general, still more coldly by his subjects in Madrid, he had finally come to live shut up in his palace or at the Prado—a royal house upon which he had incurred great expense. He there passed a great part of his time, surrounded by his obsequious friends and flatterers, both French and Spanish, who had had the imprudence, during the late campaign of Wagram in Austria, to openly calculate the chances which threatened the life of the Emperor, and even to assert that although, doubtless, the death of so great a man would be a most sorrowful event to all who admired his genius and his glory, yet that the misfortune to the Empire would not be so great as might be imagined: that then peace would be as easy to effect as it was now difficult; that those countries rashly united to France would be restored to Europe, England would be satisfied, the Pope would return to Rome, the worn-out populations would

be relieved, the finances would again be abundant; that the imperial family itself would be placed under an authority more gentle than that of Napoleon, to-wit: that of King Joseph, and so on.

These things, which were not without some truth, the friends of Joseph had the imprudence to tell him in the presence of generals in the French army who repeated them to Napoleon from hatred to the court of Spain, before the French ambassadors, who communicated them from a sense of duty, before a police whose business led them to repeat them: and one may easily believe the intense irritation which would result from them in Paris.

These flatterers of Joseph delighted to tell him that although people found him different from his glorious brother, but, although different, not so inferior to him as they were pleased to say in France: that Napoleon himself was surrounded by sycophants and flatterers who exaggerated his merit at the expense of that of his brother's; that, without doubt, he did possess an unmistakable military genius, but no moderation, no prudence; that he could only act with force and disorganized haste; that perhaps a day would come when he would ruin himself and his family.

That Joseph, on the contrary, more mild and more politic, quite as much beloved in France, although less odious in Europe, would, perhaps, be better able to complete the imperial work.

These persons rendered his stay in his palaces at the capital far more agreeable, and much more to his taste than facing the hardships of campaigns at the head of his troops would have been; and there, also, he met with a Princess of Ursins, beautiful and clever, who was one of the small number of Spanish ladies of the highest



rank who now dared to appear in his court. And thus this mild gentleman, this weakling in war, frittered away, in inglorious ease in his palaces at Madrid the six years of his troubled reign in Spain.

As the eloquent historian Napier, commenting on the lost opportunity to conclude the Peninsula War after the victory of Ocana, truly observed :

“Fortunately for Spain, the intrusive king was not a great commander: when he might have entered the temple of victory with banners flying, he stretched himself at the threshold and slept!”

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## THE CONQUEST OF VALENCIA

By MARSHAL SUCHET

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One of the greatest achievements of the French arms in the course of the Peninsula War was the conquest of the large city and provinces constituting the ancient kingdom of Valencia, the richest in resources, and the most fertile in soil of any territory in all Spain, occupying a large extent of the eastern coast from near the mouth of the River Ebro southwards, and extending from the Mediterranean Sea across well-watered plains, richly studded and adorned with palms, olive and orange trees, to the steep slopes of the mountains along its western borders.

But this great triumph of the French arms was, also, memorable as being the *Last in the long series of conquests of the Empire*, and constituted a noble and not unworthy finale to the long career of conquests and achievements by those splendid legions, which for so long balanced the weight of combined Europe, but whose heroism, henceforth, was only to be rewarded by barren victories, which only lengthened a struggle which had become hopeless even for such as they; by a strange coincidence, *on the same day* that Valencia fell, Lord Wellington led his great army across the Agueda from his strongholds in Portugal for the invasion of Spain, and commenced that career of victory which never paused

till the British standards waved in triumph on the walls of Paris in 1814.

And this, as has been pointed out by others, is strictly true: for every subsequent march in advance in Russia by Napoleon was a step towards ruin!

The Valencians had already witnessed the failure of Marshal Moncey's effort to take the city of Valencia in the year 1808, and were yet more proud of the defeat of the attempt of General Suchet himself in 1810, and they now flattered themselves that they would be no less successful against the more serious and better prepared attempt about to be launched against Valencia in the autumn of 1811.

The command of this last expedition was, also, intrusted to Marshal Suchet, to which rank he had been raised by the Emperor Napoleon, in recognition of his brilliant services and numerous victories in Aragon and Catalonia, since his failure to seize the gates of Valencia in 1810, which, in point of fact, amounted to no more than a bold attempt at a *coup-de-main*, with a force obviously inadequate for the regular siege and reduction of so great a fortress.

Unlike nearly all the rest of the marshals of Napoleon who gained their greatest renown in the execution of orders and manœuvres directly inspired by and under the immediate command of the Emperor himself, Marshal Suchet, excepting in the earlier years of his military career, when he held no higher rank than that of general of division, was always employed in separate independent commands in Spain, at a great distance from the personal direction of the great master of the art of war, and under conditions so difficult as to require the possession and the display of abilities of a very high order to enable

him to sustain himself, at all, with the rather meagre forces at his command.

Alison has described Marshal Suchet as a young general—"hitherto unknown in high command, but whose great exploits and almost unbroken success threw a radiance around the declining years of the Empire. Though not of the school of those illustrious chiefs who, roused to greatness during the struggles of the Republic, afterwards sustained with such lustre the fortunes of the Empire, he was distinguished by a capacity which rendered him better qualified than any one of them to attain the summit of military glory.

"Unlike Murat, Ney and many other leaders, whose brilliant actions were performed chiefly, if not entirely, when executing the orders of the Emperor, and when surrounded by the halo of his fame, he early showed remarkable ability in separate command, and evinced those resources in difficulty, and that resolution in adversity, which, more than the splendor of success, are the tests of real military greatness.

"He has been characterized by Napoleon as, 'the first of his generals; as having grown in capacity, in later times, in a manner which was altogether surprising'; and, after making every allowance for the feelings which must have been roused in the Emperor's mind by the manner in which he was deserted by many of his other marshals in the period of his adversity, enough remains durably engraved on the tablets of history to prove that Suchet was not undeserving of this magnificent eulogium. Nor were his civil qualities less remarkable than his military: the order and regularity which he introduced into the provinces which his arms had subdued were justly regarded as in the highest degree admirable; and while

they completely relieved the imperial treasury of all the expense of his armaments, they secured for him the gratitude and affection of the inhabitants subject to his rule, even at the very time that he was inflicting the deepest wounds on the fortunes of their country."

As an indispensable prerequisite to the withdrawal of so large a force from Aragon and Catalonia as would be required for the invasion of Valencia, it was decided that the celebrated mountain fastness of Mont Serrat should first be wrested from the hands of the Spanish patriots, the last stronghold in their possession in that part of Spain.

Preparations were at once made to attempt to carry it by *coup-de-main*, as a regular siege would consume time which could not be spared. The Convent of Our Lady of Mont Serrat was a great edifice and stood high upon the mountain upon a natural platform, opening to the east, and overlooking from the westward the rich and beautiful plain of the Llobregat around Barcelona.

The prodigious height of the precipices on which the buildings were situated, while above them huge peaks of stone shot up in the clouds, so rough, so naked, so desolate, that, to use Marshal Suchet's own expressive simile, "It was like the skeleton of a mountain," of which the whole upper part of the mountain is composed; numerous hermitages which are nestled like swallows' nests in the clefts, or crowned the projecting points in its long ascent; the blue and glittering waters of the Mediterranean bounding the distant horizon from the upper regions; the smiling aspect of the plain of Barcelona, teeming with riches and villages at its foot, joined to the

massy pile, Gothic towers, and aerial spires of the Convent itself, at the summit—had long impressed the minds of the Spaniards with religious awe, and rendered this monastic retreat one of the most celebrated in the South of Europe.

As this celebrated mountain is easily reached from Barcelona it is a familiar sight to travelers to that city, many of whom visit a spot so full of interesting historical recollections, and so striking from its wild grandeur and beauty.

But war, in terrible form, was now to penetrate these abodes of solitude and meditation; and the clang of musketry and the thunders of artillery were to re-echo amid wilds hitherto responsive only to songs of praise. To one who has visited this lofty, rugged mountain peak, the idea of carrying it by open assault, against a strong garrison, would seem nothing short of extravagance, and yet this was accomplished one hot July day in 1811, by a few battalions of Suchet's active, hardy infantry!

#### STORMING OF THE CONVENT

The Convent of Notre Dame had, from the beginning of the war, been a favourite station of the patriot bands; and though its situation, at the distance of seven leagues only from Barcelona, had long rendered it at once a point of importance to the Spaniards and annoyance to the French, yet, from the apparently impregnable strength of its situation, no attempt had been made to dislodge them from it.

There were three ways of ascending to this Convent: one from Igualada which wound up on the north, by Casa Mansana, between perpendicular rocks on one side

and precipices on the other; this road which was the only one supposed practicable for an attack, was defended by two successive batteries, and by a retrenchment in front of the Convent itself. The other two ways were, a footpath on the south leading to Colbato, and a narrow road crossing the Llobregat on the east, but both so steep and rugged, so crossed and barred by precipices that they were deemed altogether inaccessible to a body of troops. The garrison was fifteen hundred strong and well supplied with artillery.

Marshal Suchet, having carefully inquired into the nature of the ground, resolved to threaten all the three approaches at once, and disposed his troops accordingly after having driven all the Spanish outposts back towards the higher slopes of the mountain from its foot on the 24th of July. The principal attack was directed upon the northern side. On the 25th the attacking column under General Abbè advanced up the mountain, flanked by light troops, and supported by Marshal Suchet in person with a strong reserve, but exposed to the fire of the Somatenes, who had gathered round the peaks above.

This column met no serious opposition till it arrived at the chapel of Saint Cecilia; but there a battery and strong entrenchments blockaded the road, and opened with grape upon the head of the column as it turned an angle, aided by so terrible a fire of musketry from the overhanging woods and cliffs as seemed to render attack impossible. The grenadiers fell back behind the angle till out of reach of the fire of the battery, while a swarm of French light troops started to scale the rough rocks which rose behind the intrenchments; and these gallant men, after a severe fight with the Somatenes there hidden, and after undergoing incredible fatigues, established

themselves in the rear of the Spanish position, and began shooting down upon the gunners at their pieces, whereupon the leading companies of the grenadiers rushed forward upon the battery, receiving a murderous discharge of grape as they did so, but before a second discharge could be made, reached the foot of the battery beneath the line of fire. The Spaniards then threw down large stones upon the grenadiers until the fire of the French light troops in the rocks above became so galling that the battery was abandoned, but the French followed the retreating Spaniards so closely that the latter, unable to rally in time, were overtaken and bayoneted in the second battery by the grenadiers, after a desperate resistance, among their guns.

General Abbè now re-formed his troops and marched on to assail the intrenchments in front of the Convent, but as he advanced a sharp musketry was heard on the opposite quarter, and suddenly the Spanish garrison came flying out of the building pursued by French soldiers, who were supposed to be the brigade from Colbato; they, however, proved to be the light troops first sent out, to keep off the Somatenes from the right flank; for when the column advanced up the mountain, these men, about three hundred in number, had climbed too far to the right, and insensibly gaining ground up the mountain had seized one or two of the hermitages with which the peaks are furnished; then growing more daring, they pressed on unopposed, until they gained the rocks immediately overhanging the Convent itself, and perceiving their advantage, with that intelligence which belongs only to veterans, instantly attacked the Spanish reserves.

Their commanding position, the steep rocks, and the



narrow staircases, compensated for their inferiority of numbers, and in a little time they gained one of the postern doors, entered, and fought the defenders amongst the cloisters and galleries, with various turns of fortune, until the fugitives from the batteries followed by Abbè, arrived, and then the whole garrison gave way, with the greater part of which its commander, the Baron D'Erolles, threw himself down some wild ravines, known only to the Spanish mountaineers, to the Llobregat plain, where, from their knowledge of the country, they easily evaded the French troops stationed to cut off their retreat. Two of the monks were slain in the first heat of victory, but the officers succeeded in rescuing the remainder; while all the hermits were left unmolested in their moss-grown cells.

The loss of this place, stored with large quantities of arms, ammunition and supplies of all sorts, was deeply felt by the Spanish patriots from its military importance, and from the superstitious veneration in which it was held; several towns then offered their submission, many villages gave up their arms, and a general fear of the French commander's prowess began to spread all over Spain.

#### INVASION OF VALENCIA

In the month of August and the beginning of September, 1811, Marshal Suchet prepared for this great enterprise. He had sent his feeble soldiers to France, receiving young conscripts in their places, and formed large magazines in Morella and Tortosa. He left a division of eight thousand men in Catalonia, another eight thousand to protect Aragon; twenty-four thousand of all arms remained for the invasion of Valencia,

which he deemed inadequate; nevertheless, he set about the great task before him. He used much care in organizing the supply of provisions and ammunition in the rear. Tortosa, at the mouth of the Ebro, was his principal depot. He had there collected, and repaired, the siege-park he had used at Tarragona; he had formed vast magazines which were supplied with the excellent corn of Aragon, brought down by large barges by the Ebro. From Morella and Tortosa, brigades of mules, organized after the manner adopted in the British army, were to carry supplies to the troops, while each regiment was to bring its own supply of meat by taking with it flocks of sheep and oxen.

No one comprehended better than did Marshal Suchet the full significance of the profound observation of Henry IV. of France: "If you make war in Spain with a small army you are beaten, with a large one you are starved," and his success in dealing with both dilemmas attests his ability as a great commander under most trying conditions.

Having completed his preparations, the Marshal, in obedience to the positive orders of Napoleon, commenced his march upon Valencia on the 15th of September, in three columns. With the principal of these, composed of Habert's division of infantry, of Robert's brigade of infantry, of the artillery and two brigades of cavalry, he followed the great-road along the sea-shore, running from Tortosa to Valencia. The Italian division of infantry of Palombini moved to the right by the mountains of Morella to San Mateo, and the French division of Harispe still farther to the right, across the mountains of Teruel. After having cleared these different roads they were to effect their junction in ad-

vance of the city of Murviedro at the entrance of the beautiful plain called Huerta (the Garden) de Valencia.

The Spaniards, meanwhile, had not been idle. Aware of the formidable onset which now awaited them, the Junta of Valencia had, for some time, been engaged in preparing the means of defence: the fortifications of Peniscola, Oropesa and Saguntum, which lay on the great-road from Tortosa had been much strengthened. Saguntum had a garrison of three thousand, five hundred men, and was amply provided with the means of defence for three months: two hundred were in the strong fort of Oropesa, and fifteen hundred in Peniscola; and there were so many Partidas, that the whole country seemed to be in arms, but the assembling of these people being very uncertain, the Spanish commander, Marshal Blake, could not depend upon having a permanent partisan force, of more than eight thousand. Valencia itself was very rich in all things necessary to maintain a large army, and contained at that period about 150,000 inhabitants, including a great number of wealthy refugees with their families and retainers, from other parts of Spain; it was covered by an external line of redoubts, and an intrenched camp, which, in addition to its massy, though antiquated walls, and large population, excited by the recollection of two successive defeats of the French, seemed to promise a difficult contest.

Don Joaquin Blake, the commander-in-chief of the army, and a member of the Regency at Cadiz, was at the head of the Valencian army, which mustered between 30,000 and 35,000 men, comprising almost all the regular soldiers in the Peninsula. He had it in his power, if overmatched, to fall back on the impregnable walls

of Carthagera, or Alicante, while the sea in his rear everywhere afforded the inestimable advantage, at once of succour from the English fleets in case of resistance, and the means of retreat in the event of defeat.

But the French had many secret friends in Valencia, faction was as usual at work, the populace were not favourable to Blake, and as Napier said of him, "he had rather collected than organized his forces, and was quite incapable of leading them." It was in this state of affairs, that Marshal Suchet commenced the invasion. The French army nowhere met any serious obstacles, and drove before it all the patriot bands that infested the country.

The principal column alone, following the great-road from Tortosa, met with many difficulties, and these were presented by the forts of Peniscola and Oropesa, the latter of which commanded both the sea-shore and the road. As the fort of Peniscola jutted out upon the sea at a considerable distance from the road, Suchet merely drove back the garrison, which had attempted a sortie, into its fortifications, and then passed on, leaving a detachment to occupy the passage. He could not do the same before Oropesa which commanded both the sea and the road. To avoid it he caused the troops to make a detour of two or three leagues, by the rugged route of Cabanes to Villa Franca which was difficult for the field-artillery, and impossible for the siege train. But as this last had been left behind at Tortosa, he invested Oropesa by a detachment on the 19th of September, and left some battalions to open a new highway for the siege train around that troublesome little point. On the 20th of September the three columns met in the vicinity of Castellon de la Plana.

Blake appeared inclined to dispute these movements, but the troops he had ordered up marched slowly; and a skirmish at Almansora, on the 21st, at the passage of the Minjares, a torrent which descends from the mountains to the sea, where a few French dragoons put several hundred Spanish infantry to flight, made Blake doubt the firmness of his troops. He therefore left O'Donnell with four thousand men on the side of the Segorbe, and then retired himself with fifteen thousand behind the Guadalaviar River. Valencia was thrown into great confusion, but large numbers of other Spanish troops were at hand, and Suchet did not venture to attack so large an army in an intrenched camp, while his own communications with Tortosa were still intercepted, and merely dispersed the hordes of armed peasants which had assembled on his flank, and then turned against the fortress of Saguntum.

On the next day the army arrived at the entry of the magnificent semi-circular plain of Valencia, the circumference of which is formed by beautiful mountains, the middle traversed by numerous irrigating canals and streams, richly cultivated, adorned with the palm, olive and orange groves everywhere, and the diameter formed by the resplendent sea, on the border of which stood Valencia with its many steeples and domes.

Entering this plain from the north the first obstacle was presented by the city of Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum, a strong fortress built upon the summit of a steep and rocky hill, at the foot of which the unfortified modern town of Murviedro stands. The waters of the Mediterranean, in the days of Hannibal, approached to within a mile of its eastern walls; but at present they are five miles distant, a proof how much the sea has

retired along that coast in the intervening ages. Many remains of its former grandeur are still to be found, though the modern city contained in 1811 but six thousand inhabitants and occupied only a corner of the ample circuit traced by the ancient walls.

The modern fortress, which bears the name of San Fernando de Saguntum, stands on the summit of the mountain, round the base of which the ancient city was clustered, and was armed with seventeen pieces of cannon. Besides the strong garrison of 3,500 men, the principal defence of the place consisted in its position, perched on the summit of a rock, perpendicular on three sides, and only accessible on the west by a steep and devious ascent; and its importance was great, as commanding the only high-road from Barcelona or Aragon to Valencia.

On the 23rd Marshal Suchet took Murviedro with Habert's division, which was not very difficult, though the garrison of Sanguntum had descended from their position to try to save the city at their feet. The French thus became masters of Murviedro, and, despite the brisk fire of the fortress, they barricaded themselves in the houses, which they converted into battlements, and thus obliged the garrison to confine themselves to their redoubts high above. The investment was completed by two other divisions, while the rest of the army was disposed in villages, on the hills to the north-west and patrols of cavalry and light troops were pushed towards Valencia.

#### THE SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM

The first point of resistance was an ancient tower called San Pedro, and immediately above it was the fort

of San Fernando, which could not be attacked until San Pedro fell, and, from its height, then only by mines. But near the eastern extremity of the rock the engineers, by means of their telescopes, discovered two old breaches in the walls, which were, as yet, only imperfectly repaired with wood, though the besieged were erecting a curtain of masonry behind them: a large tank offered cover for the assembling of troops close to these breaches, and as it appeared too tedious to advance by regular approaches on this bare, hard rock, where the only protection would be sacks of earth brought from a distance, the Marshal, recalling the extraordinary assaults his troops had so often made in the sieges of the past two years, resolved to try an escalade.

Two columns of 300 men, with ladders, supported by a reserve, were assembled on the 28th before day-break in the tank. By a singular coincidence the garrison had chosen the same night for a sortie, and though vigorously repulsed the Spaniards were now on their guard, and the action having excited both sides, a French soldier fired from the tank before the appointed time, and the assaulting columns, filled with ardour, could not be recalled in the confusion of the baffled Spanish sortie, rushed forwards, planted their ladders, and would have carried the place by noise, had not the ladders proved to be too short, so that wherever they were placed the garrison thrust them backward from the walls, impaling those above them upon the bayonets of their comrades below, all the while firing with fury and at guns-length on the assailants, or throwing them down with the pike and axe. The second column, boiling with courage, obstinately renewing the attack, was repulsed in the same bloody fashion, and the French withdrew to their

lines with the loss of about three hundred men out of six hundred engaged.

Marshal Suchet thus found himself obliged to resort to a regular siege operation. It was debated whether it would not be better to evade this obstacle by a simple blockade with a detachment and to pass on to Valencia. But the Marshal, having thus treated Peniscola and Oropesa, deemed it too hazardous to leave on his rear a third fortress garrisoned by 3,500 men, and he determined to make himself master of it before advancing upon Valencia and Blake's army in its intrenched camp.

It was necessary to bring the siege train up from Tortosa, and, consequently, to take Oropesa which completely intercepted the road. General Compère was ordered to appear before Oropesa with a brigade of 1,500 Neapolitans, and the convoy of the heavy guns ordered to move from Tortosa. The first guns that should arrive were to open the road by overthrowing the walls of Oropesa. The Neapolitans, directed by the French engineers, carried on the approach-works with ardour and intrepidity, and on the 9th of October had armed the breaching battery with several heavy guns, and cleared for themselves an entrance into the principal tower of Oropesa. The little garrison which defended it, not venturing to meet the chances of an assault, surrendered the next day; but the garrison of the King's Tower (a separate work placed on a small promontory and commanding the harbour) refused to surrender, and was carried off on the 11th, under the French fire, by the British frigate *Magnificent*, which boldly entered the harbour for that purpose.

The Marshal having thus with a loss of only thirty



men opened the road to Saguntum for his siege train and convoys, returned to that place to push the operations. But the difficulties were very great, and the formation of the road to the batteries was itself a work of pain, although his indefatigable troops had formed a breaching battery on the 12th. It was necessary to dig the trench in a very hard ground, often in the bare rock, by mining, and to make their way towards a group of walls and high towers, so situated that from their summits the Spaniards could fire down into the French trenches; and thus they killed or disabled thirty or forty men daily.

Suchet, meanwhile, marched against and defeated Don Carlos O'Donnell, whom Blake had sent with a couple of divisions of infantry to menace the French flank and rear.

On the 17th of October the breaching batteries opened their fire against the tower of San Pedro, and the new masonry crumbled away at once; yet the ancient work resisted the guns like a rock, and the Spaniards from above, with an energy scarcely equalled even at Tarragona, remaining exposed under the fire of the breaching batteries, took aim at the French artillerymen, killed them one by one, and thus retarded the besiegers.

In the afternoon of the 18th the breach was pronounced practicable: the fire of the Spanish guns had been silenced, but their muskets returned a gallant, though feeble fire, to the thunders of the besiegers' artillery: a band of dauntless men, on the summit of the breach, armed with muskets and axes, with shouts of rage, defied the imperial grenadiers to come on to the assault.

A chosen column 400 strong was let loose from the trenches, and swiftly ascended towards the breach: they succeeded, though with great difficulty, in reaching its middle; but there the fire of musketry, discharged within a few yards of their heads, was so severe, and the shower of rocks, and grenades, and cold-shot from the summit so overwhelming that, after a short and bloody struggle, the assaulting column was driven back to the front of the hill with the loss of half their number, and Saguntum again, after the lapse of two thousand years, repulsed the soldiers of Napoleon, as it had done those of Hannibal.

Marshal Suchet's situation was again full of peril. Blake, with an army superior to his own, was in his front: he could not pass Saguntum, already proved, by the failure of two assaults, to be all but impregnable, and to retreat would be to blow the whole of the east of Spain into a flame, and lose all the fruits of the fall of Tarragona. Nor were accounts from Catalonia and Aragon calculated to allay his fears as to the issue of the campaign, where the French had sustained several disasters. The road between Tortosa and Oropesa, Suchet's principal line of communication, was entirely closed by bands of guerillas; and it was clear that, if he either remained where he was without gaining decisive success, or fell back to the Ebro, he would be beset by a host of enemies who would speedily wrest from him all his conquests.

From this hazardous situation the French general was relieved by the imprudent daring of the Spaniards themselves. The Valencians, elated by the successful resistance of Saguntum, loudly demanded a battle, and the

Spanish general urged partly by his courage, the only military qualification he possessed, partly that he found his operations on the French rear had not disturbed the siege, acceded to their desire. He had no less than 30,000 men whom he could put in line, among whom were the two veteran divisions of Zayas and Lardizabal, the best infantry in Spain, as they had proved by the heroism with which they had fought at the battle of Albuera some months before. He issued an address to his army the day before marching against the French marshal, from which the following is copied:

“Proclamation of the Commander-in-chief Blake.

“Head-quarters at Valencia, Oct. 24, 1811.

“Don Joaquin Blake commander-in-chief of the Second and Third Armies, to the generals, chiefs, officers and soldiers whom he has the honour to command:—

“We are marching to attack, and, with the help of God, to defeat Suchet’s army. If I were addressing mercenary or venal soldiers, led on by the mere instinct of obedience to force, as is the case with the enemy, I should be content with holding up to your view the rewards which must be the result of our victory.

“I find another motive for emulation, with respect to those who are not insensible to military glory, in drawing their attention to the battlements of Saguntum, to the walls and terraces of Valencia, from the summits of which we shall be followed by the anxious looks of those whose safety depends upon our conduct. . . . But I am addressing Spaniards, who fight for the freedom of their country, for their religion and for their King; and I should be casting a reflection upon the ele-

vated sentiments which animate them, were I to say more than that our duty enjoins us to vanquish the enemy or to perish in the struggle.

“(Signed) Blake.”

Having caused this fine address to be read to all his troops, he set out from Valencia, amid the shouts of the populace, on the evening of the 24th of October with twenty-two thousand infantry, two thousand, five hundred good cavalry and thirty-six guns, and made straight for the French position under the walls of Saguntum. Marshal Suchet was overjoyed at the intelligence which reached him at eleven at night; and at once gave orders for stopping the enemy on his march, before he had arrived at the ground where he designed to give battle.

The ground between Murviedro and Valencia was a low flat, interspersed here and there with rugged, isolated hills; it was also intersected by ravines, torrents and water-cuts, and thickly studded with olive trees; but near Saguntum it narrowed to a pass about three miles broad, which extended from the heights of Vall de Jesus and Sancti Spiritus to the sea, through which the Spanish army would have to pass in approaching Saguntum from Valencia.

The gunners were all left in the trenches, with the Neapolitan infantry, and received orders to redouble their fire upon the breach to deter the garrison from attempting a sortie, but the besieged from their elevated battlements descried the approaching army, and with intense anxiety watched its progress.

In this situation although his disposable troops did not exceed seventeen thousand men, and those cooped up

between two fortresses, hemmed in by the mountains on one side, the sea on the other, and with only one narrow line of retreat, Marshal Suchet did not hesitate to engage a very numerous army of Spaniards. He trusted to his superiority in moral resources, and the valour of his troops, and what would have been madness in other circumstances, was here a proof of skillful daring.

### THE BATTLE OF SAGUNTUM

At eight o'clock on the morning of October 25th, the Spanish army commenced the attack upon the French at all points, and soon drove in their light troops. Following up this advantage, they pressed on, and won a height on the French right which commanded that part of the field, and established some guns there which did great execution. The whole Spanish left, encouraged by this success, advanced rapidly and with the confidence of victory; their dense battalions were speedily seen crowning the heights of the French right; and the garrison of Saguntum, who crowded the ramparts, deeming the hour of deliverance at hand, already shouted victory, and threw their caps in the air, regardless of the besiegers' fire which never for an instant ceased to thunder on their walls.

In truth the crisis was full of danger, and a moment's hesitation on the general's part would have lost the day. Suchet instantly ordered up Harispe's division, which, after a severe struggle, regained the heights; and perceiving that Blake was extending his wings with a view to outflank his opponents, he brought up his second line composed of Palombini's Italian division and the hus-

sars, leaving only the 13th regiment of cuirassiers 800 strong, under General Boussard, in reserve, and made a vigorous attack upon the Spanish centre.

The first onset, however, proved utterly unsuccessful; the Spaniards driven from the height by Harispe, rallied behind their second line, and again advanced with the utmost intrepidity to retake it; Loy and Caro's dragoons overthrew the French hussars in the plain at its foot; and not only was the hill again wrested from the infantry, but the gallant Spanish cavalry in the same charge sabred the French gunners and captured a battery of six guns with which the enemy had crowned it.

#### HISTORIC CHARGE OF THE FRENCH HEAVY CAVALRY

Everything seemed lost, and would have been so but for the valour and presence of mind of the French commander-in-chief; but he instantly flew to the reserve of cuirassiers, and, addressing to them a few words of encouragement, in doing which he received a wound in the shoulder, himself led them on to the charge. They came upon the Spanish infantry, already somewhat disordered by success, at the very time when they were staggered by a volley in flank from the 116th regiment, which inclining back to let the torrent pass which they could not arrest, at this critical moment threw in a close and well-directed fire.

The tremendous onset of the terrible French cuirassiers, fresh and in admirable order, overthrew everything. The Valencian dragoons, already blown and in disorder were instantly routed, General Caro was wounded and taken prisoner, Loy fled with the remainder over the Piccador, the captured French guns

were recovered, all the Spanish artillery in that part of the field was next taken and its gunners sabred by these redoubtable cuirassiers, and Lardizabal's infantry being quite broken and routed by the shock of the charging squadrons which never halted an instant in their career, laid down their arms, or throwing them away, saved themselves as they could, while the two wings of the Spanish army were, by this complete overthrow of their centre, entirely separated from each other.

Harispe's division joined the Polish brigade of infantry under Chlopiski and joined the cavalry in pursuing the beaten troops.

General Habert's division opposed to the Zayas division drove it at the first charge upon the village of Pouzol, then back upon the heights of Puig which he carried with the bayonet, while Colonel Delort at the head of the 24th French dragoons closely followed and charged the remains of Lardizabal's infantry who fled after losing several hundred more prisoners, in the greatest disorder in the direction of Valencia.

Thus routed at all points the Spaniards retreated in the utmost haste, leaving in the hands of the French two of their generals, five thousand prisoners, twelve cannons and four standards, besides about two thousand killed and wounded. The French, although victorious finally had suffered quite as severely in killed and wounded as the Spaniards.

But the most important result was to have overcome the moral force of the Valencian army, to have disheartened the garrison of Saguntum, and destroyed the proud confidence of the inhabitants of Valencia in their walls.

Blake's inability to oppose Suchet in the field, being

made manifest by this battle, the troops engaged were totally dispirited, and so depressing was this conviction on the garrison of Saguntum, still 3,000 strong, that they surrendered that very night, though the breach was not yet practicable, deeming it a useless effusion of blood to hold out longer, now that relief had become hopeless.

Saguntum having fallen, Marshal Suchet conceived the plan of enclosing and capturing the whole of Blake's army, together with the city of Valencia, round which it was encamped. Though the victory and capture of Saguntum gave Marshal Suchet a solid footing in the Kingdom of Valencia, he did not consider himself as yet in sufficient strength to undertake the siege of its capital. He was much delayed in his efforts to dispose of his prisoners, now over 8,000 in number, who greatly incommoded him. Having beaten off several large bands of guerillas who infested his rear, he sent his prisoners towards the Pyrenees under the escort of a strong brigade of infantry, which reduced his active force in the field to only 17,000 men, after providing garrisons for Saguntum and posts in his rear.

He therefore made the most pressing representations to the Emperor at Paris as to his situation, and the necessity of reinforcements before he could proceed farther in his enterprise.

While waiting for these the French marshal employed the month of November in making preparations for the siege of Valencia, and in closing in upon the city by directing his forces to the banks of the Guadalaviar river which separated him from it.

He first summoned the city to ascertain the public



spirit: he was answered in lofty terms, yet he knew by his secret communications, that the enthusiasm of the people was not very strong. Nevertheless, great efforts had been made to excite their patriotic ardour when it appeared that an attack was about to be made upon the city, and it was solemnly proclaimed that, in the presence of danger from an infidel foe,

"Valencia was under the protection of its army, its civic guard, its brave inhabitants, and, in an especial manner, safeguarded by the actual presence of 'Our Lady of the Unprotected' (*Nuestra Senora de los Desamparados*)," which was the name of a miraculous image of the Virgin, and an object of special veneration in that city. And great excitement was occasioned among the Valencians when a report was circulated of the image having been secretly removed, with its rich offerings, from its shrine in the city of Valencia, to the security of the islands of Majorca, but the clergy in a pastoral letter calmed the fears of the citizens, and assured them that the Patroness of the faithful, even though the city should actually be attacked by the enemy, would not desert the city.

This declaration, from a source so authentically informed as to the real intentions of the Virgin, quieted the public alarm, as she was regarded and treated as generalissimo of the Valencians, who felt that her powerful aid could not be dispensed with at so grave a crisis. Nor was her title a mere empty honour, for the Marquis del Palacio, when appointed Captain-General of the Province, solemnly recognized her as such.

She bore in all the gazettes of the country, in all pastoral letters, the title of "*Generalissimo por mar y por tierra*," and in order to give outward, visible evidence of

her actual rank and authority, her image was, after a most imposing public ceremonial, participated in by the religious, civil and military authorities, adorned with the decorations of the captain-general, and with the gold-bordered red scarf as commander-in-chief. (Extract from Spanish account.)

After the capture of Valencia, Marshal Suchet visited her chapel, and in his Memoirs says: "We saw in the chapel of Nuestra Senora the image of the Virgin so highly prized by the Valencians; it still bore the insignia of generalissimo, with which it had been pompously invested by the Marquis del Palacio previously to the siege."

Although, however, a great degree of enthusiasm prevailed among the people, yet nothing indicating a desperate resistance was attempted; and it was very evident that the Valencians, if shut up within their walls, would neither imitate the citizens of Numantium nor Saragossa.

#### THE ADVANCE UPON VALENCIA

It was under these circumstances that the Marshal advanced to the Guadalaviar with only 17,000 men, while Blake by drawing reinforcements from Murcia now had 25,000 effective troops, of which nearly 3,000 were cavalry. On the 3rd of November Suchet seized Grao the port of Valencia with Habert's division, and the suburb of Serranos with his centre, notwithstanding a powerful resistance by the Spaniards, who defended it step by step. This suburb was separated from the city by the Guadalaviar. Blake had broken two out of five stone bridges on the river, had occupied some houses and convents which covered them on the left

bank, and protected those bridges which remained whole with regular works. Suchet, after carrying by assault the convents which covered the broken bridges in the Serranos, fortified his position there and at the Grao, and thus blocked the Spaniards on that side with a small force, while he prepared to cross the river higher up with the remainder of the army.

The whole line, including the city and entrenched camp, was about eight miles: the ground was broken with deep and wide canals of irrigation which branched off from the river just above the village of Quarte: the city was surrounded by a circular wall 30 feet high and 10 feet thick, but with a ditch and covered way only at the gates. Around this wall, about a mile farther out, was the rampart of the entrenched camp, five miles round, which enclosed the whole city and part of the suburbs; this earthen rampart was so steep as to require to be ascended by scaling-ladders, while a wet ditch ran along its front.

Marshal Suchet could not venture to force the passage of the river, much less to assail such powerful defences until he should be joined by the division of Severoli, consisting of Italians, and the French division of Reille, composed of the finest regiments of the old army of Naples. This was a force of nearly 15,000 good troops and forty guns, and was then on the march to join him under the walls of Valencia.

In this manner, nearly two months passed: the French waited for reinforcements, and Blake, who dared not risk another battle with his redoubtable antagonists in the open field, hoped that while he thus occupied their attention a general insurrection would save Valencia. The two divisions of Severoli and Reille having at length

reached his head-quarters, the Marshal prepared, with a force now augmented to 33,000 men, to complete the conquest of Valencia.

Situated on the right bank of the Guadalaviar, or Turia, River, and in the vicinity of the sea, Valencia is one of the most delightful cities which is to be found in Europe, being especially noted for the beauty of its women. At the time of the French invasion it had a population of 150,000 inhabitants; but of that number, many thousands inhabited the enchanting suburban villas which lie without the walls. These consist of a rampart of unhewn stones, rudely put together, including within their circuit an ancient citadel.

#### SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF VALENCIA

On the 25th of December, the Neapolitan division being placed in the camp at the Serranos suburb, to hold the Spaniards in check, Habert's division took post at the Grao, and Palombini's division was placed opposite the village of Mislata. The same night, 200 French hussars crossed the river several miles above the town, opposite the village of Ribaroya, by swimming their horses across, and put to flight the Spanish outposts. The engineers immediately began the construction of two bridges of pontoons, which had followed the hussars at a swift trot in their heavy wagons; and with such expedition were the operations conducted and the troops moved across, that, before the Spaniards were well aware of their danger, or the movement which was in contemplation, Marshal Suchet himself, with the main body of his forces, and the whole of Reille's division, had not only crossed over, but, by a semi-circular march, had got

entirely round the Spanish entrenched camp, in such a manner as to cut off the retreat from the city towards Alicante and Murcia.

It was precisely a repetition of the circular sweep by which Marshal Davoust, in 1805, had interposed between Ulm and Vienna, and cut off all chance of escape from the ill-fated Austrian army under General Mack within its walls. The French hussars fell in with the Spanish cavalry, hurrying out of the city to stop their advance at Aldaya. They were overthrown in the first encounter and General Broussand made prisoner, but this charge was stopped by the fire of the infantry, and the remainder of the hussars coming up overthrew the Spaniards, delivered their general, and pursued their march.

At the same time, the better to conceal his real design, Suchet caused Palombini with his division, to cross the river a little farther down, and make for Mislata and the westward suburbs of Valencia. Palombini passed over some skirmishers, and then throwing two bridges, attacked the entrenchments; but his troops were repulsed by the Spanish division of Zayas and driven back on the river in disorder; they rallied and had effected the passage of the canals when a Spanish reserve coming up under Blake in person restored the fight, and the Italians were driven quite over the river. This sharp false attack distracted Blake's attention from Suchet's movement, and fixed his efforts at the point where Palombini's advance had first given him the alarm.

The two divisions of Musnier and Habert, which were left on the other bank of the river, also commenced a furious assault on the north of the entrenched camp. The roar of artillery was heard on all sides: the rattle of musketry seemed to envelop the city: and it was hard

even for the most experienced general to say to which quarter succour required in the first instance to be conveyed.

In the midst of all the tumult, however, Marshal Suchet incessantly pressed on to the main object of his endeavours, which was to sweep round the whole southern side of the city, and interpose near the Lake Albufera, on the seacoast, between Blake's army and the line of retreat to Alicante. So anxious was he to effect this object that he put himself at the head of Harispe's division, which formed the vanguard of the force which had crossed the river at Ribarova, and, pressing constantly forward, overthrew all the efforts made to halt his march and never paused till he had reached the western margin of the Lake Albufera and had become master of the great southern road. He had learned of Palombini's repulse, but without being diverted by this check, fresh battalions crossed over the bridges, and following fast on the traces of Harispe, completed the sweep round the entrenched camp, and established the French troops in such strength on its southern front that the Marshal was in no danger of being cut off, and in condition to shift for himself.

Deeming himself secure, the Marshal at this critical moment ascended the steeple of the village of Chirivilla, to endeavour to ascertain by the line of smoke how the battle was proceeding in other quarters; and while thus engaged, he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner by a Spanish battalion, which, in the general confusion, entered the village, then occupied only by a few horsemen and his own suite; and it was only by an impetuous charge of his aides-de-camp and personal attendants that the enemy, who were ignorant of the all-important prize within their grasp, were repulsed.

General Habert with his entire division, at the same time, not only drove the Spaniards from the northern bank of the Guadalaviar, but throwing a bridge, under cover of fifty pieces of cannon, below Valencia, passed over, amid a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, and pushed his advanced posts on till they met, near the northern end of the Lake of Albufera, those of Harispe, which had crossed above the town and completed its circuit on the southern side; but before he could connect his flank solidly with the troops of Harispe, who were on the Lake, the Spanish division of Obispo, flying from Suchet's cavalry, passed over the rice grounds between Lake Albufera and the sea, and so escaped to Cullera, where he was safe from further pursuit.

During this circular movement round Valencia, General Mahy, at the head of the insurgents of Murcia, and the Marquis Villa Campa with his division, had retired upon the River Xucar and Alcira, unwilling to be shut up in Valencia, and judging that General Blake's army was amply sufficient to defend it if it could be defended, and much too large to surrender if at length reduced to capitulate. Suchet sent his dragoons in pursuit of these divisions, but they were unable to do more than cut off a few men and hasten the flight of the rest, which was so rapid that the French could not overtake them. This encircling operation only cost Marshal Suchet about 500 men, killed and wounded, the greater part Italians, for the only considerable resistance was at Mislata, where General Blake had commanded in person and showed great courage. The loss of the Spaniards was not much greater, though they abandoned eighteen guns to the French; but they sustained irreparable damage by having

their army entirely dislocated, and the greater part of it shut up, without the hope of escape, in Valencia.

Blake's army, now reduced to about eighteen thousand of all arms, retired to the entrenched camp and were closely invested there during the night by the rapid movements of the French general. Fortunately for the independence of the Peninsula, those who had broken off from the main body of the Spanish army, succeeded in reaching Alicante, though in straggling bands, to the number of above four thousand men, and preserved that stronghold of patriotic resistance to Spain, which shared with Cadiz and Carthagená the glory of being the only Spanish cities which had never been sullied by the presence of the enemy.

In his daring movements to enclose Blake's army, it is a signal proof of the contempt which the French marshal must have entertained for his adversary's talents, that he ventured to spread his troops in a circular sweep of more than fifteen miles in length, with their flank exposed the whole way to the attacks of a concentrated enemy little inferior in number, in possession of an entrenched camp; and of the strong foundation for that contempt that he succeeded in his bold designs.

The decisive effects of the investment of the entrenched camp and city of Valencia were speedily apparent. It was impossible for Blake to remain long in the camp; the city contained one hundred and fifty thousand souls besides the troops, and there were no means of provisioning because Suchet's investment was complete. Sixty heavy guns with their parks of ammunition which had reached Saguntum, were transported across the River Guadalaviar to batter the works of the entrenched camp, and as the suburb of San Vicente and the Olivet offered



two projecting points of the lines, which possessed but feeble means of defence, the trenches were opened against them during the night of the 1st of January.

Soon after, General Blake, at the head of fifteen thousand men, endeavoured to force his way out of the town by the left bank of the Guadalaviar; but though the column at first had some success, and drove in the enemy's advance posts, yet Blake had not determination enough to enforce the only counsel which could extricate the troops from their perilous predicament; it is said that Lardizabal did not evince his usual energy; the advice of the heroic Zayas to press on at all hazards, sword in hand, was over-ruled; some difficulties at crossing the canals threw hesitation into the movements of the whole; and, after losing the precious minutes in vacillation, the Spanish general returned on his footsteps into the city, while his advance guard, to whom the order to return could not be communicated, got safe off to the mountains.

A similar attempt was made, a few days after, on the road to Alicante, with no better success. In the course of four days the fire of the tremendous battery of heavy guns brought up from the French lines at Saguntum, and directed upon the defences of San Vincente and the Olivet, completely overwhelmed the resistance in that part of the Spanish lines, and, on the night of the fifth, Blake, despairing of defending the vast circuit of the entrenched camp against such attacks, with a depressed army and an irresolute population, withdrew altogether from the camp and retired into the city. The French, perceiving the movement, broke into the works, and pressed on the retiring Spanish troops so hotly, that eighty pieces of heavy artillery, mounted on the redoubts, fell into their hands, and they immediately established

themselves within twenty yards of the walls of the city.

Rightly conjecturing that the resistance of the Spaniards would be more speedily subdued by the terrors of a bombardment than by breaching the ramparts, the Marshal immediately ordered the erection of large mortar batteries, and began to discharge bombs into the city. In the evening he sent a summons to General Blake, who replied, that he would have accepted certain terms the day before, but that the bombardment had convinced him, that he might now depend upon both the citizens of Valencia and the Spanish army.

This answer did not deceive Suchet. He knew from his secret communications within the city that no preparations had been made to stand a siege: that the pavements had nowhere been lifted: that no barricades were erected; and that there were no cellars or caves, as at Saragossa, for the besieged to retire into to avoid the fire. He was, therefore, convinced the place would not, or, rather, could not, make a prolonged defence, and he continued to throw shells until the 8th; after which he made an assault upon the suburb of Quarte, but the Spaniards still held out, and the French troops were driven back. However, the bombardment killed many persons; already some of the finest buildings in the city, particularly the noble libraries of the archbishop and University, had been reduced to ashes; and the impossibility of finding subsistence for so great a population, as well as the desponding temper of the inhabitants, whose spirit was completely broken by the long train of disasters which had occurred in the east of Spain, convinced the Spanish general of the impossibility of holding out. A large number of the chief citizens waited

upon General Blake at his head-quarters and begged him to capitulate without further delay.

While he was debating with them a warlike friar bearing a flag, which he called the "Standard of the Faith," came up with a mob, and insisted upon fighting to the last and when a picquet of soldiers was sent against him by the Spanish general, he routed it and shot the officer in command; nevertheless the friar's party was soon dispersed, and his standard taken in charge.

Finally, when a convent of the Dominicans close to the walls was taken, and five batteries made ready to open upon the city from that point, Blake demanded leave to retire to Alicante, with arms, baggage and four guns. These terms were refused, but a capitulation, guaranteeing property, and oblivion of the past, and providing that the unfortunate French prisoners in the Island of Cabrera, should be exchanged against an equal number of Blake's army, was negotiated and ratified on the 9th. Then General Blake, complaining bitterly of the people of Valencia, gave up the city.

By the capture of Valencia, the French marshal, in addition to the richest, most populous, and most important city of the Peninsula next to Cadiz, that remained still unsubdued, became master of eighteen thousand regular troops, the best in Spain, who were made prisoners, with eighty stands of colours, two thousand excellent horses, three hundred and ninety pieces of cannon, forty thousand muskets, and immense military stores of all kinds; and it is not one of the least remarkable features of this extraordinary war, that intelligence of the fall of so great a city took a week to reach Madrid, and it was not known in Cadiz until one month after!

Seldom has a greater blow been struck in modern

times; it was like that delivered by the English when they stormed the fortress of Seringapatam, and captured the army of Tippoo Saultan. The Spanish army marched out of Valencia on the 10th of January, 1812, and having laid down their arms, were immediately sent off to France.

On the 14th of January Marshal Suchet, preceded by the redoubtable cuirassiers whose splendid charge had converted defeat into victory at the battle of Saguntum, made his triumphal entry into Valencia. The populace received with calmness, almost with satisfaction, a chief whose good government was extolled in Aragon, and they were not sorry to see the end of a frightful war, which, ignorant as they were of the future, seemed to promise advantage only to the English, who were no less odious to the Spaniards than were the French themselves.

The rich and beautiful plain of Valencia, the garden of Spain, the scene which poetic rapture sought in vain to enhance, with all its immense resources, thus fell entirely under the French power, and was immediately turned to the best account by the vigorous administration and oppressive impositions of Marshal Suchet. Order was completely preserved and discipline rigorously maintained among his troops. He was careful not to offend the citizens by violating their customs, or shocking their religious prejudices, and endeavoured, as much as possible, to govern through the native authorities. The archbishop and many of the clergy aided him, and the submission, and even good will, of the people was secured. All dangerous persons, especially the friars, nearly fifteen hundred in number, were arrested and sent to France, and some hundreds of them shot when unable,

from fatigue, to travel farther; the perpetrators of the cruel murders of French residents at Valencia in 1808, which had stained the commencement of the war, justly executed.

On the city and province of Valencia, the French marshal, having learned that the convents and churches were full of riches, imposed a contribution of fifty millions of francs, and such was the skill which long experience had given the officers of the imperial army in extracting its utmost resources from the most exhausted country, that this enormous sum was brought, with very little deduction, into the public treasury.

While these facts illustrate in the clearest manner the oppressive nature of the imperial government, which always followed the Roman maxim of "making war maintain war," and explained the unbounded exasperation which it everywhere excited in Europe, as well as the long enthusiasm which it awakened in France itself, it must at the same time be added, to the honour of Marshal Suchet, that he carried this onerous system into execution with far more attention to the interests and wishes of the inhabitants than any of the other French marshals; that no private plunder disgraced his footsteps, or military disorders rendered hateful his government; that, unlike the other parts of Spain, the monuments of the fine arts remained untouched in Valencia during his administration; and that, despite the grievous weight of the burdens he was obliged to impose, such was the protection to industry which he at the same time afforded, that, when Valencia was finally evacuated, the receding footsteps of the French army were beheld with regret by the grateful inhabitants.

The Valencians had expected that a bloody vengeance would be taken for Calvo's murder of the French residents in 1808. Napoleon had, however, imposed a war contribution, as a punishment for the death of the French residents, so heavy that his lieutenant imagined that Valencia would be quite unable to raise the sum. To protect the people, he suppressed the taxes imposed by the Spanish government when their injustice was made apparent, and substituted others, which, being more equal, were less onerous. Suchet, by accepting part payment in kind, and giving a discount for prompt liquidation, satisfied this great impost in one year without much difficulty, and the current expenses of the army were provided for besides; yet neither did the people suffer as in other provinces, nor was their industry so cramped nor their property so injured, as under their own government.

#### MARSHAL SUCHET CREATED DUKE OF ALBUFERA

Justly desirous of giving a public mark of his high sense of the great services rendered to the Empire by Marshal Suchet and his brave companions in arms, the Emperor Napoleon, by a decree dated the moment that he received intelligence of the fall of Valencia, bestowed on the former the title of DUKE OF ALBUFERA, the scene of his last and most decisive triumph, with the rich domains attached to it in the kingdom of Valencia; on the latter, two hundred millions of francs.

These immense funds were directed to be realized "from our extraordinary domain in Spain, and such parts thereof as are situated in the kingdom of Valencia,"

and afford a striking proof of the system of extortion and spoliation which the Emperor invariably put in force in all the territories which he conquered.

SURPRISING RESULT OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES ON THE  
ULTIMATE FATE OF NAPOLEON

The following concluding reflections upon the strange consequences of this splendid campaign of Marshal Suchet, Duke of Albufera, are thus eloquently set forth by the pen of the eminent historian, Sir Archibald Alison :

“And yet, so little can even the greatest sagacity or the strongest intellect foresee the ultimate results of human actions, and so strangely does Providence work out its mysterious designs by the intervention of free agents, and the passions often of a diametrically opposite tendency of mankind, that, if there are any circumstances more than others to which the immediate catastrophe which occasioned the fall of Napoleon is to be ascribed, *it is the unbroken triumphs of Suchet in the east of Spain*, and the strenuous efforts of the English opposition to magnify the dangers and underrate the powers of Wellington in the west of the Peninsula.

“Being accustomed to measure the chances of success in a military contest by the achievements of the regular troops employed, and an entire stranger to the passions and actions of parties in a free community, he not unreasonably concluded, when the last army of Spain capitulated in Valencia, and the whole country, from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, had, with the exception of a few mountain districts, submitted to his authority, that the contest in the Peninsula was at an end, so far as the Spaniards were concerned; and when he beheld the party

in Great Britain, who had all along denounced the war there as utterly hopeless, and irrational on the part of that country, and some of whom, in their zeal against its continuance, and to demonstrate its absurdity, had actually corresponded with himself, even at the crisis of the contest, on the eve of getting possession of the reins of power in London, he was naturally led to believe that no cause for disquiet existed, in consequence of the future efforts of England in Spain. He was thus tempted to prosecute, without hesitation, his preparations for the Russian war; and, before finishing the conflict in the Peninsula, plunge into the perils of the Moscow campaign, and the double strain it was, as he has himself told us, which proved fatal to the Empire.

"Had he been less successful in the east of Spain—had the English opposition less strenuously asserted the impolicy and hopelessness of British resistance in the west—he would probably have cleared his rear before engaging with a new enemy in front.

"Neither could have withstood his whole force if directed against itself alone; and the concentration of all his military power against Wellington, in the first instance, would have chilled all hopes of success in Russia, and extinguished, perhaps forever, the hopes of European freedom.

"So manifestly does Supreme power make the passions and desires of men the instruments by which it carries into effect its inscrutable purposes that the very events which vice most strenuously contends for are made the ultimate causes of its ruin; and those which virtue had most earnestly deprecated when they occurred, are afterward found to have been the unseen steps which led to its salvation."



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## THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

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The genesis of the MONROE DOCTRINE forms one of the most curious and interesting subjects in the history of World Politics. Having its inspiration in the strangest international compact to be found in history—THE HOLY ALLIANCE, entered into in September, 1815, by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, immediately after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, by the final catastrophe of Waterloo—this celebrated Doctrine not only survives the Holy Alliance, which, in fact, ceased to exist, even nominally, with the outbreak of the Crimean War, but has finally received from the United States a meaning so extended as must, sooner or later, tax the might of the giant Republic of the North to maintain, and, at the same time, call forth the utmost efforts of casuistry to justify, in the face of the crying needs of the rest of the civilized world for actual breathing-space, by excluding it from this Hemisphere, whether from the mixed motives of pretended fear, commercial greed, political ambition, or for the sake of preserving the independence of the inferior, mixed races, who, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, retard the civilization and development of the finest regions in the world.

When the armies of allied Europe overran France and again occupied Paris in July, 1815, two of the strangest

characters then living, perhaps, appeared there. One, the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia, utterly *blasé*, religious mystic, mightiest of earthly potentates, and, the other, the celebrated Madame de Krüdener, reformed female rake, religious mystic and prophetess, who had followed the former from Russia, with the design of meeting the Tsar, and convincing him that it was his true mission to use his vast power and influence to bring about the era of universal peace and happiness.

The lofty conceptions of the Holy Alliance, though perverted from their noble purposes, were the fruit of this meeting of the two mystics.

#### MADAME DE KRÜDENER

Before attaining the age of eighteen, she had been married to the Baron de Krüdener, a diplomat, who died in 1802. It is said that her unbridled passions and her romantic character led her to commit scandalous indiscretions which compelled her husband to send her back to her family at Copenhagen. From that time she threw off all restraint and led a wandering life. Long occupied with the allurements of indiscriminate gallantry, and the pleasures of the world, she gradually realized that her day in the latter was over.

It has been said by a Russian writer of that time, that, "When the organs wear out and sensual enjoyments fail, it must necessarily happen that, deprived of intellectual activity sufficient to replace what they have lost, certain souls should seek in the unlimited sphere of the religious affections, something to supply the want of which they are conscious."

Madame de Krüdener began to listen to the voice of

religion, and obeying her tendency to mysticism, decided to change her manner of life, and devote herself to prophecy, to the conversion of sinners, and the consolation of the wretched. In 1812 the new prophetess predicted the defeat of the Black Eagle in the snows of Russia, and the triumph of the White Eagle; the Black Eagle was Napoleon, the White was Alexander. After Napoleon's disasters in Russia, Madame de Krüdener's prophecies gained immense credence in Germany, and all eyes were turned towards Alexander. In the patriotic songs sung by the students in the German universities could be detected the profound faith in the final victory of what Madame de Krüdener had styled the great and holy cause. In 1813 she met Jung Stilling, the celebrated German mystic visionary, who completed her conversion and instruction. From that time she thought she had a call to preach the gospel to the poor.

A letter she had written to Mdlle. Stourda inspired Alexander with the wish to see her. They met in Baden as he passed through that country with his armies towards the Rhine. Eloquent and deeply sentimental, she quickly gained ascendancy over his wandering imagination and fickle mind. He willingly yielded to the sympathy which attracted him towards a woman of sensibility, formerly given up to sin, but now a zealous apostle and worker.

She followed Alexander to Paris, and there had many long, secret meetings with him. The idea of the Holy Alliance was not suggested by Madame de Krüdener, but this remarkable woman had evidently some share in drawing up the act, destined to put the idea in practice. "Her mind," says the Duke of Richelieu, "was the dupe of her heart. . . . Though a mark for criticism,

she presents some luminous points, which will cause the memory of the zealous missionary to be respected. Her eloquence, which was captivating, was based upon sincere conviction; and if, abandoning her part of woman on the stage of private life, she appeared as a tribune in public, it was because we cannot resist the longing to impart to others what we have deeply felt ourselves."

### ALEXANDER I., TSAR OF RUSSIA

In the "*Histoire de la Restauration*," Capfigue, one of the ablest of the Bourbon writers, thus speaks of the Tsar at this period of his life: "Alexander, a man of generous character, although somewhat of a dissembler, had at that time one engrossing idea, to secure Peace to the world. His ambition was to offer a noble contrast with Napoleon, who was great in war.

"Although the influence of Madame Krüdener did not commence till 1815, the Tsar had already imbibed (1814) certain mystical ideas of predestination, which made him believe that his mission on earth was to fill the role of pacificator, by means of his immense armies. His was one of those souls, such as are to be met with in Russia, touched by pietism, and worn out by emotion." Upon the question of his religious tendencies and conversion, Alexander himself has left these personal observations:

"I felt the void in my heart," said he, "accompanied by a strange presentiment; I came, I went, I sought diversions: the burning of Moscow at last illumined my spirit, and the judgment of God on the frozen field of battle, filled me with a warmth of faith I had never felt before. From that moment I learnt to know God, such as

he is revealed in the Bible; from that moment I tried to comprehend, as I now do comprehend, His wish and His law. The resolution to devote to God alone my glory, my person, and my reign, has been matured and strengthened with me."

Although undoubtedly innocent of complicity in the violent death of his father, the Emperor Paul I., yet that tragedy had left a terrible poniard in the thoughts of Alexander, which he had vainly striven to banish by pleasures, as well as in the pre-occupations of the ruler of a great empire.

In "The Court of Russia," (Schnitzler), occur these observations upon Alexander's unhappiness, and his motives in seeking to establish universal peace. "Touched with melancholy, arising from many causes, he was anxious to make his peace with God. Aware of the abuses which excite the discontent of nations, he hoped that during a lengthened peace, the governments of Europe would seriously apply themselves to that work. To this end a state of profound tranquillity was indispensable; and as the confusion of the past thirty years had greatly weakened the old ideas of order and subordination, he thought he should be able to remedy that, by making a solemn appeal to religion."

The reader will be curious to learn how Alexander himself explained the origin of the Holy Alliance, in a conversation he held on this subject in the summer of 1818 with the Prussian Evangelical bishop, Doctor Egbert.

"In the days of Lutzen, Bautzen, Dresden," said the Tsar, "after so many useless efforts, when in spite of the heroism of our soldiers, we were obliged to retreat; we—that is, your king and myself—were unable to lay

aside the conviction that the power of man could do little, and that Germany was lost, without the assistance and especial blessing of Providence.

"Your king and myself rode together unattended, serious, and a prey to reflection, without exchanging a word. At length the dearest of friends broke the silence and said: 'Things cannot go on so! We are in the direction of the east, and it is toward that we must, that we ought to march. We shall arrive there God willing. And if, as I trust, He should bless our united efforts, we will proclaim in the face of heaven our conviction that to Him alone belongs the honour.' We promised, and exchanged a pressure of hands upon it with sincerity. Then came the victories of Kulm, the Katzbach, Dennewitz, and Leipsic; and when we arrived in Paris, we had reached the end of our painful course. The King of Prussia reminded me of the holy resolution of which he had entertained the first idea, and the Emperor Francis I., who shares our views, our opinions, and tendencies, entered willingly into the association.

"The idea of the Holy Alliance originated in the hour of misfortune; it was realized in the propitious hour of gratitude and happiness. The Redeemer inspired every thought comprised in the alliance—all the principles it announces. It is not our work, it is God's."

The presence in France of more than 200,000 of the veterans of Russia in the autumn of 1815, conferred upon Alexander a sort of political and military omnipotence in the counsels of the Allied Powers. He strongly felt this great moral ascendancy, and in the belief of the approaching advent of the then anticipated moral millennium, was persuaded, not only in his own mind, but strongly supported by the influence and counsels of

Madame de Krüdener, who was equally persuaded with himself, that the auspicious time was at hand when he should take the lead in establishing the actual reign of the Gospel on the earth.

During the months of August and September of this year, Alexander spent entire days at Paris—to the exclusion of all other business, which had to remain in suspension—in mystical communication of sentiments with Madame de Krüdener. As it was finally evolved, their united idea was the establishment of a general international law, founded on the principles of the Christian religion, over the whole of Europe, which was at once to extinguish the religious divisions which had so long distracted, and the wars which had desolated it. Sovereigns were to be regulated by the principles of virtue and religion, the people to surrender themselves in peace and happiness to the universal regeneration of mankind.

The following is a copy of this remarkable instrument:

#### THE TREATY OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

“In the name of the All-Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

“Their Majesties, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, in consideration of the great events which have taken place in Europe during the last three years, and more especially of the benefits which it has pleased divine Providence to shower upon those States that have placed their confidence and faith in it alone, having come to the conviction that the policy which the powers shall in future pursue with regard to their mutual relations must be founded on those sublime truths which are taught us by the eternal



religion of our God and Saviour, here declare solemnly that by this act, they desire only to make known to the whole world their steadfast determination to take for their sole guidance, both in the administration of their own government and in the matter of their political relations with other nations, the precepts of Holy Religion, precepts of justice, of charity, and of peace; for, far from these being fitted merely for application to private life, it is they which should directly influence the decisions of princes, and should be their guide in every proceeding; hereby alone can a sure foundation be secured for human institutions, or a remedy found for their imperfections.

Their Majesties have, therefore, agreed to the following Articles:

#### ARTICLE I.

"The three monarchs subscribing, viz: the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, bind themselves in conformity with the principles of the Holy Scriptures, which order all men to regard each other as brothers, and considering themselves as compatriots, to lend each other every aid, assistance, and succor, on every occasion: and regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers, to direct them on every occasion in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect religion, peace, and justice.

#### ARTICLE II.

"In consequence, the sole principle in vigour, either between the said governments or among their subjects, shall be the determination to render each other reciprocal aid, and to testify, by continued good deeds, the unalterable mutual affection by which they are animated: to

consider themselves only as members of a great Christian nation, and not regarding themselves but as delegates appointed by Providence to govern three branches of the same family—viz: Austria, Prussia and Russia: confessing also that the Christian nation of which they and their people form a part has in reality no other sovereign to whom of right belongs all power, because He alone possesses all the treasures of love, knowledge and infinite wisdom—that is to say, God Almighty, our Divine Saviour, Jesus Christ, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life—they recommend in the most earnest manner to their people, as the only way of securing that peace which flows from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to fortify themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercises of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to us.”

## ARTICLE III.

“All the powers which may feel inclined to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present treaty, and who may perceive how important it is for the happiness of nations too long agitated that these truths should henceforth exercise on human destinies all the influence which should pertain to them, shall be received with as much eagerness as affection into the present alliance.

Made triple and signed at Paris in the year of Grace 1815, the 26th of September.

FRANCIS,  
FREDERIC WILLIAM,  
ALEXANDER.”

Prince Metternich, the Austrian prime minister, regarded this treaty with much suspicion, and considered

it less a religious vagary of Alexander than a deep laid political undertaking to pave the way for the hegemony of Russia over Europe, and to secure to her the protectorate of the East. Austria, however, had been too great a gainer in the various treaties of 1815 to refuse her signature to the strange convention so eagerly insisted upon by Alexander, but which, as Metternich perceived, was so vague in its terms that it would be easy to evade, whenever it might become desirable for Austrian interests to do so.

Lord Brougham, in a violent speech in the House of Lords, stigmatized the Holy Alliance "as nothing but a convention for the enslaving of mankind, under the mask of piety and religion," and demanded a copy of it.

Lord Castlereagh replied that it had not received the signature of the Prince-Regent, "as the forms of the British constitution prevented him from acceding to it, and this being the case, the rules of Parliament forbade the production of any treaty to which this country was not a party."

But the treaty was ere long acceded to by nearly all the Continental sovereigns, out of a desire to please its known author, the Emperor Alexander.

The Allied sovereigns were especially desirous of the adhesion of Great Britain as a signatory to this treaty. But as it was signed by the sovereigns alone, without the sanction or intervention of their ministers, the Prince-Regent, under the advice of Lord Castlereagh, judiciously declared that "while he adhered to the principles of that alliance, the restraints imposed upon him as a constitutional monarch prevented him from becoming a party to any convention which was not countersigned by a responsible minister."

But, despite Lord Castlereagh's opinion that the Holy Alliance was "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense," and despite the many criticisms levelled at it, it has since been pointed out that it had a lasting influence for good upon European politics; that it made Congresses the fashion, and thus first sowed the seed of the modern idea of the European concert; and, finally, that by engendering the sentiment of the brotherhood of nations has done much to establish such mediums of peace as the Geneva Convention and The Hague Tribunal.

Unfortunately for its more efficient operation immediately after it was formed, Alexander was almost the only person concerned in the institution of the Holy Alliance who either believed in it fully or knew what it was intended to achieve.

#### VAST EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE OF THE SPANISH INDIES

In the year 1810, Spain still held in almost unimpaired sovereignty its vast possessions in the Two Americas, known as the Spanish Indies. For administrative purposes, these were divided into four great Viceroyalties.

Mexico, or New Spain, besides Mexico proper, included Lower and Upper California to Vancouver's Island, and on the east, territory beyond the present eastern boundary of Texas. In its extended power it also embraced Cuba, San Domingo and Guatemala.

The Viceroyalty of New Granada, or the Caraccas, as it was also called, included Venezuela, Ecuador, the United States of Colombia, and the Panama territories.

Peru, probably the richest in gold of them all, included the modern States of Peru, Bolivia, part of Chile, and a vast, undefined region extending into the Brazils.

The fourth, or that of Buenos Ayres, embraced the present Argentine Republic, the balance of Chile, Patagonia, Uruguay, and whatever else remained of the Continent outside of the Brazils, and some small settlements on the coasts of Guiana.

For nearly three centuries the immense wealth of this magnificent empire, extorted with merciless rapacity from the natives, had flowed back to Spain in fleets of treasure-ships, so richly laden that Piracy, upon a great scale, became a regularly organized institution, largely composed of daring English and French buccaneers, whose purpose was to prey upon these heavily armed, homeward-bound four-decker Spanish galleons, with which tradition and romance relate innumerable desperate combats at close range, and bloody hand-to-hand encounters by reckless swarms of boarders.

It has been noted as a curious evidence of the sort of "comity" among the enlightened powers of those days, that neither the English nor the French government is known to have made any real efforts to suppress it, or, indeed, that either of them discountenanced such plundering as against good morals. "No more," says Macaulay, "than the Raleighs and Drakes considered themselves as thieves, when they divided the cargoes of Spanish galleons."

But, even as late as the year 1804, the English government itself, while still at peace with Spain, sent orders to the commander of its fleet off Cadiz to capture four Spanish treasure-ships that were expected at that port from South America. The Spaniards resisted bravely and in a short time one of their ships blew up, destroying the lives of nearly all on board, whereupon the other three surrendered to a superior attacking force, with the

treasure on board, amounting to above £2,000,000 sterling. This act of national piracy occasioned a violent debate in Parliament, a majority of which, however, actually sustained the action of the British government upon the ground that this great treasure might have been intended by Spain for delivery to France, with which England was at war.

But an eminent English historian, writing thirty years after this event, unsparingly condemns it and says, "It is with painful feelings that the British historian must recount the circumstances of the melancholy transaction." The King of Spain incensed at this outrage upon his flag and the refusal of Great Britain to render any satisfaction or restore the treasure so taken at once declared war upon that power. But better morals prevail upon the seas in this age, and it may well be doubted whether any civilized nation would now commit an act of national piracy, upon the high-seas, at all events, whatever they may still do upon the land.

The riches of the Indies, eagerly coveted by all the other poorer, needy nations, rendered Spain for ages the wealthiest and the most powerful among the nations of Europe. And this might, perhaps, have been preserved to the nation, or much of it, at all events, but for the madness of the Cortes which met in Cadiz in 1810, some account of whose proceedings will now be given.

#### THE CORTES OF CADIZ

The assembly of this remarkable legislative body, in the last stronghold of Spanish independence against French aggression, at Cadiz on the Isla or Isle of Leon, on the 24th of September, 1810, marked an event scarcely

less momentous in its ultimate consequences to the whole civilized world, than did the meeting of the States-General at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789.

That was the First Day of the SPANISH REVOLUTION, as the latter was of the French Revolution.

The Central Junta of Spain and the Indies, which had taken refuge in Cadiz, after the capture of Seville by the invading army of Marshal Soult which was accompanied by the intrusive French monarch, Joseph Bonaparte, had resigned in favour of a Royal Regency, and a National Cortes. After two years of intrigues and delay, this National Cortes was finally assembled at Cadiz, and the long suppressed voice of the Spanish people was, at last, to be heard.

This great body immediately assumed the title of *Majesty*, and to mark the distinction between itself and the Royal Regency decreed the inferior title of *Highness* to designate the latter, to its intense anger and bitterness.

This slight the Regency felt the more deeply as it had actually laid down and dictated the very principles by which the assembly of the Cortes was to be governed. These were of the utmost importance, and had a decisive influence upon the character of all the subsequent proceedings.

By the first, the ancient constitution of the Cortes was changed, and, instead of assembling, as of old, in three chambers, they were to meet in two; the one called the POPULAR, the other the DIGNIFIED ASSEMBLY!

The first resolution adopted by the Cortes was decisive of the character of the assembly. It bore, "That the deputies who compose the Congress, and represent the

Spanish nation, declare themselves legitimately constituted in the general and extraordinary Cortes, *in which is placed the national sovereignty.*"

The members of the Royal Regency were next required to swear obedience, "to the sovereignty of the nation, represented by the Cortes, and obey its decrees." Of this first legislative day, it is related, "That these, and many similar resolutions, were carried unanimously, amid the loud applause of the members and galleries, filled with immense crowds of persons of both sexes; the debates were prolonged till midnight, amid a delirium of unanimity; extempore speeches, unknown hitherto in Southern Europe, fraught with eloquence, bespoke at once the ability and fervour of the speakers; and the Regency, abandoned by all, and confounded by the violence of the torrent, took the oath at four in the following morning, and thereby virtually converted the monarchy into a Democracy."

The Regents being now destitute of any real authority, soon resigned their situations; and they were immediately banished from the Isla, and ordered to reside in distant places. New Regents, more obsequious to the will of the Cortes, were thereupon appointed in their places by the latter.

The Cortes further decreed that the royal dignity was maintained in the house of Bourbon; that until the deliverance of Ferdinand VII. from the hands of the French emperor, that royal dignity should be supplied by the Royal Regency recently instituted, and that the Cortes itself should exercise the legislative power in the fullest extent.

These preliminaries having been settled, the Cortes next proceeded to the discussion of a new constitution,



which, after a year's consideration in the committee appointed to draw it up, and in the assembly itself, was finally approved of and sworn to by the Cortes on the 19th of March, 1812. Having proclaimed principles incontestable in themselves, but premature for the Spain of that day, it finally issued in anarchy. Nevertheless, it became the Magna Charta of southern revolutionary Europe, and the model on which the subsequent Democratic constitutions of revolted Spain, Portugal, Piedmont and Naples in 1820 were framed—"the brand which afterwards filled both hemispheres with its flames."

The Cortes remained at Cadiz in misery, discord, and endless disputes with the English, who had now become the allies of Spain against France, and particularly over the attempts of England to secure a practical monopoly of the immense trade with the Spanish possessions in the Americas. A most reasonable thing, it might be supposed, for England to seek, in view of the great sacrifices in blood and treasure it was then making in the cause of Spanish independence, and, the more so, that the only other alternative would have been to abandon its advantages to France, which would have used the means thus acquired against both Spain and England.

Private enterprise in England now entered extensively into the exploitation of the Spanish Americas, and sought to develop the ancient mines of gold and silver upon more modern lines; in such tempting enterprises many millions of pounds of English money were speedily invested, to be followed a few years later, when these colonies declared their independence, by huge loans to the new revolutionary governments which increased the amount of British capital, thus loaned and invested in the Spanish possessions, to more than £50,000,000 sterling before the

year 1820. And before many years more had elapsed, Lord Palmerston declared in Parliament that this amount had increased to the incredible sum of £150,000,000 sterling.

Soon after the Cortes had assembled, discussions arose with the small body of American delegates allowed to those States in the scheme of representation in the national Cortes, upon the serious abuses in the administration of all the colonies, for which no redress had been granted.

Disposed to be loyal to Spain, the only answers to their petitions for relief were insolence and abuse from this strange, haughty assembly, so senseless as to suggest a species of judicial madness, for they literally threw away thus the most magnificent colonial empire on earth. Napier says of this course towards the colonists: "When the Cortes met, America expected more justice; she had contributed ninety millions of dollars for the support of the war, and many of her sons had served zealously in person; she had also been declared an integral part of the empire by the Central Junta, and her deputies were now permitted to sit in the Great National Assembly. She was, however, soon made to understand, that the first of these privileges meant eternal slavery, and that the second was a mere form.

"The Americans complain of having been tyrannized over for three hundred years! they shall now suffer for three thousand years," and "I know not to what class of beasts the Americans belong:" such were the expressions heard and applauded in the Cortes when the rights of the colonists were agitated in the assembly."

The indignant colonists soon understood their true situation in the national representation, and it was made

equally clear to them that the most vital interests of the colonies would be sacrificed to the wishes of the mother-country without scruple. The determination to throw off a yoke so odious speedily manifested itself, and in April, 1810, the Caraccas or Venezuela, and Porto Rico, declared for independence, thus lighting up the flames of a colonial war, which was to bring on the revolution in Spain itself, and finally result in the absolute independence of all its vast possessions in the Indies, excepting only Cuba and Porto Rico.

#### THE SPANISH REVOLUTION OF 1820

The adoption of the famous Constitution of 1812 by the National Cortes assembled at Cadiz, had been followed by an agitation so widespread in favour of popular sovereignty, the patriotic efforts of which had contributed so powerfully to the successful conclusion of the war of Spanish independence, that, having once exercised supreme legislative power, the people were unwilling to surrender it. In consequence, when Bourbonism, in the person of Ferdinand VII., and Clericalism attempted to reassert their ancient prerogatives in defiance of the new Constitution of 1812, serious disorders broke out in many parts of the country, and especially among the more intelligent populations of the cities.

It did not seem possible that any new or serious troubles could be at hand, even in France, the hot-bed of all revolutionary disturbances, and far less in such a country as Spain, so soon after Republicanism had met with so decisive an overthrow in the person of Napoleon, who, whether Consul or Emperor in name, was, after all, the

Son of the Revolution, and heir to its grand principles and traditions.

Despotism had but just settled down its crushing weight, to a comfortable sense of ease and security once more, under the shadow of the Holy Alliance, the awful power of which seemed too great to be successfully opposed. The ancient Bourbon dynasties had been restored to their thrones in France, Spain, and Naples—having, “learned nothing and forgotten nothing,” in their long exile from power, and the house of Braganza, which had learned and forgotten quite as little as the Bourbons, to that of Portugal.

Yet Spain, under the inspiration of its new constitution, was precisely the country which was to set a most memorable example in this Second War of Liberation. “Repress it firmly,” said Metternich, the Arch-Chancellor of Despotism. Spanish Despotism attempted, with utmost exertion, to repress it, and not merely failed, but the bloody civil war which ensued, had, in the course of the years 1821-1822, reduced Ferdinand VII. to such desperate straits, that it had become evident he would soon lose his throne unless supported by foreign aid.

*By whose aid*, then became a question which alarmed the jealousies and fears of the Great Powers far more than what was happening in Spain. The question was one of life or death to the Bourbon dynasty so lately re-established in France: for how was royalty to exist at Paris, if cast down at Madrid?

“Whatever,” says Lamartine, “may have been the faults of the Government of the Restoration at that period, it is impossible to disguise the extreme danger to it from the revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Naples and Piedmont, from which the contagion of military revolu-

tions and secret societies had spread into the armies, the last support of thrones.

"It was not the cause of the French Bourbons which tottered, it was that of all kings and of all thrones. Even more; it was the cause of all the ancient institutions which were sapped in all the South of Europe by the new ideas and institutions.

"The North itself—Germany, Prussia, Russia—felt themselves permeated in their inmost veins by that passion for a renewal of things, that pouring of youthful blood into the institutions, that participation of the people in the government, which is the soul of modern times. All was the work of seven years of peace, and of the freedom of thought in France. . . . The constitution proclaimed at Cadiz, was nothing in reality but a republic masked by a throne.

"Revolutionary France blushed for its timidity in presence of a nation which, like the Spanish, had achieved at the first step, the realization of all the visions of the philosophy of 1789. Spain was on the verge of a republic; and a republic proclaimed on the other side of the Pyrenees could not fail to overturn the Bourbons in France. Europe was slipping from beneath the monarchies: all felt it, and most of all the revolutionists at Paris. War was declared between their enemies and themselves; the field of battle was Spain."

Opposite views, however, prevailed in England where, it was said, the national pride saw with displeasure a French army of 100,000 men preparing to invade and reoccupy the very country which British valour had just redeemed from their presence after the six years' struggle of the Peninsula War. And that most of all did it arouse

the sympathies of the English people for the Spanish revolutionists, when it appeared that the French invaders were now arrayed in upholding the cause of the despots of the Holy Alliance against the liberties of mankind.

Clear-sighted men also perceived the danger to England in another renewal of the family compact between the Bourbon dynasties of France and Spain, if the latter should be restored to its throne by the arms of another Bourbon king in France.

But honourable as such feelings were to the English people, there were yet others exerting immense pressure upon the course of the British government, inspired by the influence of the holders of the £50,000,000 of South American securities which, as has already been shown, were even then held in England, and supported, too, by commercial greed for the trade and exploitation of the Spanish American colonies, with which England had contracted highly favourable commercial relations since their declared independence of Spain.

Upon this most interesting subject, it would scarcely be possible to obtain a clearer knowledge than is afforded in the following remarkably candid observations by Mr. Alison, the distinguished English historian. He says: "Influenced partly by their constant sympathy with revolutionary efforts, and partly by the thirst for the extravagant gains offered for loans by the rulers of revolutionary states, the capitalists of England had largely embarked in adventures connected with the independence of South America. The idea of "healthy young republics" arising in those immense regions, and equalling those of North America in rapidity of growth and extent of consumption of our manufactures, in-

fluenced some; the prospect of seven, eight, and nine per cent, offered for loans, and for a few years regularly paid, attracted others; the idea of the cause of liberty and independence spreading over the whole of the New World carried away a still greater multitude. No one doubted that these young republics, which had been mainly rescued from the colonial oppression of Spain by the sympathizing arms of England, and by the valour of Wellington's discharged veterans, would speedily become powerful states, in close alliance, political and commercial, with Great Britain, paying with regularity and thankfulness the ample interest due upon their debts, consuming an immense and daily increasing amount of our manufactures, and enriching in return the fortunate shareholders of the mining companies that were daily springing up, with a large share of the riches of Mexico and Peru.

"The sums expended by the capitalists of Great Britain in advances to the revolutionary governments of the Peninsula and their revolted colonies were so great as almost to exceed belief. They were stated by Lord Palmerston, in his place in Parliament, at £150,000,000 between 1820 and 1850; and a considerable part of this immense sum had been advanced before the end of 1822. Payment of the interest even of those vast loans was thought, and not without reason, to be entirely dependent on support being given the revolutionary governments in the Peninsula and in South America. . . . Influenced by these considerations, the large and powerful body of English capitalists implicated in these advances, made the greatest efforts, by means of the press, public meetings, and detached publications, to keep alive

the enthusiasm in regard to Spanish freedom, and South American independence; and with such success were their efforts attended that the people of England were kept almost entirely in the dark as to the real nature and ultimate results of the contest in both hemispheres, and the enthusiasm in their favour was all but universal."

#### THE CELEBRATED CONGRESS OF VERONA IN 1822

Alone of all the European monarchies, Great Britain, secure in its free, liberal institutions, felt no apprehensions from the revolutionary propaganda upon the Continent. Self-preservation compelled Louis XVIII. to crush the Spanish revolution and fix Ferdinand VII. upon his tottering throne. If England and France came to blows over the Spanish question, it was obvious that France, backed by the united strength of the Holy Alliance would overmatch Spain, supported by Great Britain and Portugal, but the danger of another outbreak against Bourbonism in France was so great, that the Paris government might be overthrown at any time, and thus array the strength of France on the side of the Spanish revolutionists and their British allies.

If this should occur, it could not be doubted that the united strength of France and Great Britain would overcome the Northern powers, which, even with the aid of Great Britain, had taken twenty-five years to overcome France alone. The necessity of putting a quietus upon the Spanish volcano was so obvious, therefore, and it was also so urgent to take measures to avert the danger



to all despotic governments, that a congress of the powers was called to assemble at Verona, Austrian Italy, in the year 1822.

#### BRILLIANT SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE CONGRESS

This renowned assemblage is thus depicted in contemporaneous writings:

“Verona exhibited, when the Congress opened within its walls, even more than the usual union of rank, genius, celebrity and beauty, which are usually attracted by such assemblages. The Empress of Austria was present, the Ex-Empress Marie Louise was there, and enjoyed the happiness of being again united to her august family; but the brilliant dream of her life had passed way, and the widow of Napoleon had sunk into the obscure wife of her own chamberlain (after having openly lived as his mistress for more than seven years). The Queen of Sardinia, with the princesses her daughters, the princesses of Tuscany, Modena, and several of the German powers, embellished the salons by their beauty, or adorned them by their charms.

“Never had any town in Italy exhibited such a combination of everything that could distract the thoughts of the diplomatists, or dazzle the eyes of the multitude. The principal actors and actresses from Paris and Vienna had arrived, and added their talents to the general enchantment: splendid balls succeeded each other in rapid succession, intermingled with concerts, in which the genius of Rossini shone forth with the brightest lustre.

“In the midst of all this pomp and splendour, the business of diplomacy proceeded abreast of that of amusement; the ambassadors were as much occupied as the cham-

berlains; and a hidden but most formidable power—that of the Jesuits, and the extreme religious party—carried on a series of intrigues destined to produce the most important results.”

#### POLITICAL ACTION OF THE CONGRESS

The Emperor Alexander, accompanied by his prime minister, Count Nesselrode and many high Russian dignitaries, was there; Prince Metternich, who soon took the lead in the negotiations, represented Austria, Prince Hardenberg, Prussia, M. de Chateaubriand, France, and, finally, the Duke of Wellington appeared on behalf of Great Britain, it being felt that England, in an assembly where the leading object of deliberation would be the French intervention in Spain, could not be so appropriately or efficiently represented as by the illustrious warrior who liberated it from the thralldom of Napoleon.

Florence, at first thought of as the place of meeting, had been exchanged, at the desire of the Emperor Alexander, for Verona, on account of the latter being a sort of midway station between Spain and Greece, the two countries which were to chiefly occupy the attention of the Congress, although the troubles in Sardinia and Naples were so near at hand as to bring them practically before the Congress, whichever of the two cities might be selected.

The revolt of Greece against the Sultan was first considered, and afterwards the revolutions in Sardinia and Naples. The African Slave Trade also received attention, and led to the passage of various resolutions for its suppression, or amelioration. The real business of the Congress was then taken up, namely:

## INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF SPAIN

As a preliminary to the discussions and action of the Congress upon intervention in the affairs of Spain itself, the Duke of Wellington presented an adroitly worded note to the Congress upon the question of the independence of the South American Republics, in which it was stated that :

"The connection subsisting between the subjects of his Britannic Majesty and the other parts of the globe has for long rendered it necessary for him to recognize the existence of *de facto* governments formed in different places, so far as was necessary to conclude treaties with them; the relaxation of the authority of Spain in her colonies in South America has given rise to a host of pirates and adventurers—an insupportable evil, which it is impossible for England to extirpate without the aid of the local authorities which occupy the adjacent coasts and harbors; and the necessity of this co-operation cannot but lead to the recognition *de facto* of a number of governments of their own creation."

This attempt to obtain indirectly from the Congress some act or declaration amounting to a recognition of the independence of the newly established Republics in South America, did not impose upon the other powers, who at once took the alarm.

Austria, speaking in behalf of all the other powers, who openly concurred in Prince Metternich's declaration, answered, "That England was perfectly entitled to defend her commercial interests from piracy: but as to the independence of the Spanish colonies, Austria would never recognize it, so long as his Christian Majesty had not formally renounced the rights of sovereignty hereto-

fore exercised over these provinces." The proposed measure, therefore, came to nothing, but it was clearly indicated that the sentiment of the Congress was strongly opposed to the views and purposes of Great Britain. And this opposition was decisively shown when the question of direct interference in Spain itself was acted upon.

England was opposed to any interference in the internal affairs of Spain by invasion from any quarter, while France urged the pressing necessity of such a measure, in the interest of the peace of the whole Continent. The conflict of policy between the two countries was so acute upon this point, as well as the ulterior one of recognizing the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies in America, that war must have ensued, if the Holy Alliance had not unanimously, and decidedly made it known that "it would support, with all its power, any measure France might deem essential for its safety, in reference to intervention in Spain, of the character of which France was left the sole judge."

This ominous resolution, the most important and far-reaching in its consequences that the Holy Alliance ever adopted, concluded the business of the Congress of Verona.

For the first time, England found itself in that position of "splendid isolation," the perils of which it has, since that day, had to face more than once, but always with the resolution and calm courage which never forsake the dauntless Anglo-Saxon Race! So completely had changed the relative positions of the two countries in the short space of seven years since Waterloo! History presents scarcely a parallel to it.

Spain was immediately invaded by a French army, 120,000 strong, already assembled at the foot of the

Pyrenees, led by experienced officers of the Empire, and the revolution quickly suppressed by the veterans whom the greatest European armies had been unable to face.

Out of this extremity of national peril there was born one of the boldest and most momentous resolutions ever proclaimed by a British prime minister.

In his own recorded statement Mr. Canning said: "When the French army was on the point of entering Spain we did all we could to prevent it; we resisted it by all means short of war. When the French army entered Spain, the balance of power was disturbed, and we might, if we chose, have resisted or resented that measure by war. But were there no other means but war for restoring the balance of power? Is the balance of power a fixed and invariable standard; or is it not a standard perpetually varying as civilization advances, and new nations spring up to take their place among established political communities? . . . What if the possession of Spain might be rendered harmless in rival hands—*harmless as regarded us, and valueless to the possessors?*

"If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No: I looked another way; I sought materials for compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be 'SPAIN WITH THE INDIES.' I called the New World into existence, to redress the balance of the Old."

Commenting upon this declaration of Mr. Canning, and the course pursued by England on this occasion, the historian, Sir A. Alison, makes these most interest-

ing observations: "But be the intervention of England in South America justifiable or unjustifiable, nothing is more certain than that neither its merit nor its demerit properly belongs to Mr. Canning. The independence of Colombia was decided by a charge of English bayonets on the field of Carabobo, on the 14th of June, 1821, more than a year before Mr. Canning was called to the Foreign office. It was the 10,000 British auxiliaries, most of them veterans of Wellington, who sailed from the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde, under the eye of Lord Castlereagh, in 1818, 1819, and 1820, who really accomplished the emancipation of South America.

"Mr. Canning did not call the New World into existence, he only recognized it when already existing. There can be no doubt, however, that this recognition was of essential importance to the infant republics and that it was the stability and credit which they acquired from it which enabled them to fit out the memorable expedition which in the next year crossed the Andes, and at the foot of the cliffs of Ayachuco achieved the independence of Peru."

Mr. Canning refused to recognize the Regency established at Madrid upon its occupation by the French army, and appointed British consuls to Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Ayres.

MEMORABLE DECLARATION OF ENGLAND'S ATTITUDE,  
JULY, 1823

"We will not," said Mr. Canning, "interfere with Spain in any attempts she may make to reconquer what were once her colonies, *but we will not permit any third power to attack them, or to reconquer them for her;*

and in granting or refusing our recognition, we shall look, not to the conduct of any European power, but to the actual circumstances of these countries."

This was the haughty *ultimatum*—by the only power that dared to utter it, or that was capable of enforcing it—by England alone, to the mighty Holy Alliance, in answer to its declared purpose to send its fleets and armies to aid Spain in reconquering her revolted colonies in America, and in establishing over them new Bourbon dynasties which should recognize the King of Spain as a sort of over-lord, with whom the closest political, and most exclusive commercial relations would, of course, be established and maintained for their common benefit.

### BIRTH OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The success of this vast scheme of reconquest for the benefit of Spain, through the armed interposition of the Holy Alliance in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, would not merely dangerously strengthen the hands of England's enemies, and cause the abrogation of the numerous juicy commercial treaties with the revolted colonies, under which an immense market for English goods had been developed, but would also entail the immediate loss of above £50,000,000 of English capital already invested in their bonds and mines—eventualities which any British government would proceed to any extremities to prevent.

The American Republic offered the only possible hope of support, and although much impoverished by the late war, it had, nevertheless, shown itself formidable upon the only element where it could really aid the self-serving

purposes of British policy at this critical juncture, namely, the sea, where their small navy had inflicted the most stinging defeats the mighty British navy had ever experienced.

Aware that hardly seven years had elapsed since the conclusion in 1815 of the Second American War, in which a small British army had burned the Federal Capitol and other public buildings, after having chased a much larger American army in ignominious flight from Washington, besides the employment, by the then English administration, as legitimate warfare, of the atrocious method of arming and letting loose hordes of Indian savages upon the exposed frontiers of America, the English prime minister realized that it might prove no easy task to deal with a people and country thus embittered by wrongs and humiliations so recent.

Yet, Mr. Canning wisely judged, as the event showed, that in the face of the vital political and commercial interests at stake, deeply touching those of the United States as well, the two nations must, in the exercise of the saving common-sense and commercial instincts common to both, put aside their national grievances and animosities, to defend these great issues. What though Britain's motives *were* absolutely selfish and, so far as concerned the United States, inspired by no other purpose than to use us in the sordid game of saving commercial treaties and £50,000,000 of English money!

These were the considerations which really brought about President Monroe's message in which *we* intended to subserve, on our part, only our own selfish interests, political and commercial.

Mr. Canning's task was to bring America into line with his policies, and in doing so, he not only conceived



and inspired the principles of the MONROE DOCTRINE, but, finally, six months after he had boldly and singly proclaimed to the Holy Alliance the doctrine of non-inter-vention in American affairs by any third power, succeeded in so far overcoming the suspicions and fears of our government, by strong and repeated assurances of British support, as to induce it to chime in with Monroe's celebrated message, of December 2, 1823, which enunciated nothing Mr. Canning had not directly inspired.

Indeed, it will appear in the several state papers, which are herein set out, that the American government never really seems to have had any other source of information, than Mr. Canning himself, as to what was actually going forward on the continent and in the British Foreign Office. The mere chronological order of these papers and letters, with the gradually developing views of the American statesmen, will show how Mr. Canning first enlightened and finally brought them around to adopt his views.

In a long dispatch to Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, dated August 19, 1823, Mr. Rush, the American minister at London, gave the details of a confidential interview, to which he had been invited by Mr. Canning, upon the South American question, "asking me what I thought my government would say to going hand in hand, with that of Great Britain in taking measures to restrain the Holy Alliance from attempting hostile action against the new republics."

In a note to Mr. Rush, dated August 20, 1823 (marked Private and Confidential) Mr. Canning said: "Is not the moment come when our Governments might understand each other as to the Spanish American colonies?

And if we can arrive at such an understanding, would it not be expedient for ourselves, and beneficial for all the world, that the principles of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed?

"For ourselves we have no disguise:

"We conceive the recovery of the Colonies of Spain to be hopeless.

"We conceive the Recognition of them as Independent States to be one of time and circumstances. . . .

"We aim not at the possession of any portion of them ourselves. We could not see any portion of them transferred to any other power with indifference.

"If these opinions and feelings are, as I firmly believe them to be, common to your government with ours, why should we hesitate mutually to confide them to each other; and to declare them in the face of the world?"  
(See Writings of James Monroe, Vol. 6, p. 365.)

A voluminous correspondence with the State Department at Washington, shows the American minister used every effort to induce the British government to further commit itself by taking other measures against the Holy Alliance, before the American government could either have assented or dissented, but asking instructions how to reply to the hypothetical inquiry he anticipated, as stated in his despatch, No. 323, dated August 28, 1823: "Should I be asked by Mr. Canning whether—if the recognition be made by Great Britain without more delay—I am, on my part, prepared to make a declaration in the name of my government that it will not remain inactive under an attack upon the independence of those

States by the Holy Alliance." (Writings of James Monroe, Vol 6, p. 371.)

It was undoubtedly upon these facts and the proposals thus made to them by Mr. Canning, that President Monroe, and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, anxiously considered during the following months, what course we should adopt: and in their perplexity, they were aided by the wisdom of Ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison, who still survived in vigorous old age; such was the respect felt for these two venerable Fathers of the Republic, that from their seats in Virginia they appear to have exercised a sort of supervisory control over both of Monroe's administrations.

In this connection, the following letter from President Monroe to Ex-President Jefferson, asking his advice, will show how far the purposes of our government were from being crystallized at that date. Undoubtedly it is one of the most valuable, as well as illuminating, documents relating to that interesting epoch in our life as a nation.

Literal copy of letter to Thomas Jefferson:

"Oak Hill, October 17th, 1823.

"Dear Sir:

"I transmit to you two dispatches, which were received from Mr. Rush, while I was lately in Washington, which involve interests of the highest importance. They contain two letters from Mr. Canning, suggesting designs of the Holy Alliance against the Independence of So. America, & proposing a co-operation, between G. Britain and the U. States, in support of it, against the members of that alliance. The project aims, in the first instance, at a mere expression of opinion, but which, it is expected by Mr. Canning, will have a great political

effect, by defeating the combination. . . . Many important considerations are involved in this proposition.

"1st. Shall we entangle ourselves, at all, in European politics, & wars, on the side of any power, against others, presuming that a concert by agreement, of the kind proposed, may lead to that result?

"2nd. If a case can exist in which a sound maxim may, & ought to be departed from, is not the present instance, precisely that case?

"3d. Has not the epoch arrived when G. Britain must take her stand, either on the side of the monarchs of Europe, or of the U. States, & in consequence, either in favor of Despotism or of liberty & may it not be presumed that, aware of that necessity, her government has seized on the present occurrence, as that, which it deems, the most suitable, to announce & mark the commenc'ment of that career?

"My own impression is that we ought to meet the proposal of the British govt & view an interference on the part of the European powers and especially an attack on the Colonies by them, as an attack on ourselves, presuming that if they succeeded with them, they would extend it to us." (Vol. 6, p. 323, Writings of James Monroe.)

A few days later, and nearly two months before the message of December 2, 1823, to Congress, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Mr. Monroe, as his final conclusion upon the subject, that: "Our first & fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs."

Actuated, doubtless, by a species of national vanity,

several American writers have endeavoured to deny to Mr. Canning the credit for the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, and, as proof of its "American origin," have asserted that as Washington's Farewell Address enunciated the principle of non-intervention in European affairs, the converse of the proposition—non-European intervention in American affairs—*must be held to have been intended!* If so, we were very careful not to make this known to Europe until, at last, President Monroe ventured to re-echo the British declaration made six months before.

Without following up the details of subsequent negotiations, not unmixed with strong suspicions on both sides, as to the motives and the good faith of the other, it is clear that it was not until our own doubts and fears had been removed, by both acts and assurances on the part of England, that we ventured to take the final step.

### THE MONROE DOCTRINE

(As enunciated in his message to the Congress, of  
December 2, 1823)

The essential parts are as follows:

"In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . .

"We owe it, therefore, to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere.

"But with the Governments who declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. . . .

"It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either Continent without endangering our peace and happiness: nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference."

On the 26th of January, 1824, President Monroe wrote to Ex-President Madison, as follows:

"The only material fact that has come to our knowledge since my last to you relating to the views of the allied powers on So. Am. amounts to this, that the presumption that they would make no effort in favour of Spain for their subjugation of the new governments has acquired strength. Mr. Sheldon thinks that the attitude assumed by England and that which is anticipated on the part of the U. States will have a decisive effect in preventing it."

In his *Life of James Monroe*, Professor Gilman says: "An extract, dated 1824, and recently published, from the *Diary of William Plumer*, who was a member of Congress during Monroe's administration, gives to John Quincy Adams the credit of drafting the important portions of the message. He says that, a day or two before Congress met, Monroe was hesitating about the allusion to the interference of the Holy Alliance with Spanish America, and consulted the Sec'y of State about omitting it. Adams remained firm, saying, 'You have my sentiments on the subject already, and I see no reason to alter them. 'Well,' said the President, 'it is written and I will not change it now.'"

Clearly doubts and fears assailed our course, to the last hours, even after it had been resolved upon. In truth, it can be admitted by us, without humiliation, that the United States was then too weak to have ventured to proclaim European exclusion from the Western Hemisphere, even though we had ever conceived such a design, and there can be nothing to the detriment of our national vanity in frankly recognizing the fact that the credit belongs, not to our statesmen, but to Mr. Canning!

Not only were we then entangled by him in this mesh of British policy, but the entanglement bids fair to hold us to the end of our life as a nation. Though the Monroe Doctrine was thus born, the American people quickly adopted it as a fundamental principle in our national polity, and have ever since shown their readiness to uphold it.

In a speech made as early as April 11, 1826, on the Panama mission, Daniel Webster said of the Monroe Doctrine:

"The country's honour is involved in that declaration;

I look upon it as a part of its treasures of reputation, and for one I intend to guard it."

In 1845 President Polk felt strong enough to give the Monroe Doctrine a more extended application than it first had, and against the very power to which we were indebted for it, Great Britain itself. He then declared that, "It should be distinctly announced to the world, as our settled policy, that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established in any part of the North American Continent," thus including acquisitions by voluntary transfer as well as by conquest, though, on this occasion, only referring in terms to the North American Continent.

Strangely enough a doctrine so fully accepted by all political parties has never been formally defined or sanctioned by any statute. In 1853 a resolution, combining the features of both the Monroe and the Polk Doctrines failed to pass the Senate.

#### NOTABLE INSTANCES OF ITS ENFORCEMENT

Among these may be mentioned the defeat of British pretensions to the Hawaiian Islands, with the subsequent highly desirable result of their acquisition by ourselves: the abandonment of Mexico by the French army in 1866, under the menace of the overpowering force of 60,000 veterans of the Civil War concentrated upon the Rio Grande to enforce the evacuation: and lastly, the enforced arbitration of the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, upon a categorical demand of President Cleveland, which was tantamount to a declaration of war if the former power refused to accept such a method of settlement. So rarely has a great power



submitted to demands so autocratic and threatening that it is difficult to find a parallel, outside of the repeated provocations offered to Republican France by German insolence and aggression.

In the discussion prior to the Venezuelan arbitration, Secretary of State Olney made the following very blunt statements upon the subject to Lord Salisbury :

"It has been intimated, indeed, that in respect of these South American possessions, Great Britain is herself an American State like any others; so that a controversy between her and Venezuela is to be settled between themselves, as if it were between Venezuela and Brazil, or between Venezuela and Colombia, and does not call for nor justify U. S. intervention. If this view be tenable at all, the logical sequence is plain. Great Britain as a South American State is to be entirely differentiated from Great Britain generally; and if the boundary question cannot be settled otherwise than by force, British Guiana, with her own independent resources, and not those of the British Empire, should be left to settle the matter with Venezuela—an arrangement which, very possibly, Venezuela might not object to.

"But the proposition that a European power with an American dependency is, for the purposes of the Monroe Doctrine, to be classed, not as a European, but as an American State, will not admit of serious discussion. . . . Great Britain cannot be deemed a South American State within the purview of the Monroe Doctrine, nor, if she is appropriating Venezuelan territory, is it material that she does so by advancing the frontier of an old colony instead of by the planting of a new colony. While Venezuela charges usurpation, Great

Britain denies it, and the United States, until the merits are authoritatively ascertained, can take sides with neither. . . . It is certainly within its right to demand that the truth shall be ascertained.

"Being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know whether such sequestration has occurred, or is now going on. The territory which Great Britain demands shall be ceded to her, as a condition of arbitrating her claim to other territory, has never been admitted to belong to her. It has always and consistently been claimed by Venezuela.

"Upon what principle—except her feebleness as a nation—is she to be denied the right of having the claim heard and passed upon by an impartial tribunal? 'It is to be so, because I will it to be so,' seems to be the only justification Great Britain offers." (See letter of Secretary Olney to Lord Salisbury, dated July 20, 1895.)

Nevertheless, the United States has permitted European creditor nations to take measures to recover certain debts from recalcitrant Latin American debtor nations. In 1903, the British and German fleets were permitted to blockade the coast of Venezuela, and to occupy one or two of its ports temporarily, in order to collect certain indemnity claims, upon assurances of good faith by those powers to the United States, that, in no event would either of them take any Venezuelan territory in settlement, in lieu of money.

Thus far there has been no interference by the United States to prevent conquests or exchanges of territory by one American power with, or at the expense of, another American power.

## CONCLUDING FACTS AND REFLECTIONS

The near approach of the Panama Canal to completion is fraught with political as well as commercial considerations of tremendous moment to the whole world.

Its absolute ownership by the United States emphasizes the remarkable fact that Great Britain, the other great Anglo-Saxon power, also dominates the world's two other greatest waterways, the Suez Canal and the Sea Route via the Cape of Good Hope. How far the rest of the world will resist, or can resist, this tremendous concentration of power in the hands of a race of men, so over-mastering and domineering, remains to be seen.

The Continent of Australia, the coming seat of the third great branch of the Anglo-Saxon family, will be brought one week nearer to London, and nearer still to New York, by the new canal, thus uniting the three countries still more closely. Only the more direct and quickened touch through the Panama Canal will be needed to relieve Australia of its feeling of isolation.

The YELLOW PERIL has long haunted, like a hideous nightmare, the vast, lonely Continent of the South Pacific, and the eager, earnest invitation extended by the Australians and the New Zealanders to the mighty fleet of sixteen American battleships to visit those distant seas, in its celebrated voyage around the world some years ago, as well as its prompt and cordial acceptance by President Roosevelt, possess a significance far beyond any mere exchanges of international courtesies. From that day each country has felt a deeper sympathy with the other, and this sentiment must grow with Melbourne, Sidney, and New York ten days nearer together than ever before.

The logic of events already renders it inevitable that

in the future all the branches of the Anglo-Saxon Race must gravitate between Washington and London as its poles.

Even as now understood, and, in fact, as asserted, the Monroe Doctrine is held to exclude Asiatic powers from the Western Hemisphere. Can there be any doubt that this strangest, most elastic of all political principles ever conceived, will, also, be extended to the exclusion of Asiatic powers from Australasia? Or that Great Britain must, in these later times, equally as at its first inception in the brain of Mr. Canning, and from motives even stronger, be prepared to uphold it as strenuously as the United States itself, if Australasia is to be preserved to the White Races, to say nothing of commercial considerations, always so powerful with both countries?

In world politics, nothing can be clearer than that the great Teutonic Race *must* find room for expansion beyond its present narrow limits, or, being foiled in peaceful efforts, take by force that without which it cannot exist.

Germany alone is adding nearly a million souls annually to its already over-crowded millions. But in seeking colonies for its splendid, industrious populations to occupy and develop, it finds that two great powers, England and France, absolutely own nearly all the available, habitable parts of the globe suitable for colonization, outside of the Western Hemisphere, from which the United States has assumed the right to exclude every European and Asiatic power.

England and France, at least, have a possessory right and title to their territories as some excuse for their selfish course in seeking to hedge in Germany, whose well-nigh insupportable situation both of those powers fully

understand, and yet feverishly seek to guard against only by increased armaments and fresh alliances to maintain the *status quo*.

It may seem unpatriotic for any American to denounce the Monroe Doctrine as a menace to the peace of the world, but that it is so, seems undeniable when arbitrarily denying to all other nations the right of peaceful colonial development in parts of the South American Continent so far removed, that by no possibility could it constitute a menace to a great power like the United States. How should such a development by Germany or Italy of the countries below the Tropic of Capricorn, or even nearer the Amazon, be justly regarded as an act of unfriendly aggression against the United States? Not one of which states, from Mexico to the most distant, but that regards the motives of their self-constituted guardian and protector with the utmost suspicion and jealousy, while fearing and hating the whole Anglo-Saxon Race, as, indeed, every other race on earth seems to do, and, it must be confessed, not without some reason.

Doubtless, we must and should prevent encroachments upon the northern portion of South America, or possession by such a power as Germany, for example, of the harbours of St. Thomas or Curacoa, as a menace to the safety of the routes to the great canal on the side of the Caribbean Sea—just as it has been found expedient, in the recent adoption by the Senate of Mr. Lodge's resolution, to repress the first efforts of Japanese cunning, under the guise of private corporate enterprise, to acquire from Mexico some hold upon Magdalena Bay, the fine strategic naval base in Lower California, lying directly upon our sea route from Seattle and San Francisco to Panama.

But the Monroe Doctrine, however, commits the United States, under its non-colonization and non-intervention features, to an absolute protectorate over all the other independent States of this Hemisphere, obliging it to espouse their quarrels with all other foreign powers, though unable to control the actions of a single one of them.

Mexico and its long-drawn-out revolution, now in progress, make this abundantly clear. For more than two years we have been offered constant provocations from that direction; many thousands of Americans and other foreigners have been driven from that country, great numbers have been brutally murdered or subjected to indescribable outrages, and millions of dollars of damage done to foreign business and property.

The United States will not permit foreign nations to take reprisals upon Mexico, and yet has not dared itself to set foot across the Rio Grande to protect even its own citizens, because of repeated savage threats by the Mexicans that the instant it does so, all the factions would unite to resist it, and as a first step in the preservation of the national freedom, *put to death every foreigner in Mexico!* President Taft was obliged to explain why our troops should not enter Mexico, by making this fearful danger to foreigners in that country known to the American people in response to a nation-wide demand for armed intervention, upon the repeated deaths of our citizens in our frontier towns by Mexican bullets from that side of the line, where fighting went on regardless of our rights, to say nothing of murders of Americans and other foreigners, entitled to look to us for protection, in other parts of Mexico. Such is the character of the nations whose *guardians* we have become.

And in what respect would our "protection" to foreign colonists in South America be more efficacious against similar threats of extermination by native populations who are, in great part, unfortunately, quite as ferocious as the Mexicans?

Is it, therefore, either just or fair for us to demand, for the sake of preserving the independence of such peoples, that foreign colonists and investments should be obliged to look to such native governments, south of the Equator, at all events, for security and protection? Or, in other words, that they, as the price of settling in South America shall become *hostages*, and their investments *security*, against punishment in the hands of such governments, for their injustice and crimes?

Clearly, the situation is beyond the effective control of the United States, save to perpetuate the existence of unworthy governments over rich countries by excluding the finest peoples of Europe from their possession and development. And having assumed the position of guardian over these uncontrolled "Sister Republics," before the rest of the civilized world, are we not morally, if not legally, bound to make good to it the losses inflicted by their disorders and lawlessness?

But, even if, under further provocations, the United States should attempt to forcibly re-establish something like order in distracted Mexico, by its armed occupation—which it has the power to do, despite any resistance the Mexicans may make—yet this enforced order and good behavior will last only so long as it may be maintained by the presence of our troops. Hence it will result that our occupation of that country must end in its annexation, or, perhaps, as a choice of evils, and for the sake of future tranquillity, of several of its troublesome North-

ern States (upon just monetary compensation, of course) having areas and populations as follows, according to the census of 1910, viz.:

	Area in Sq. Miles	Population
Chihuahua .....	87,828	405,265
Coahuila .....	62,375	367,652
Durango .....	38,020	436,147
Nuevo Leon .....	24,324	368,927
Sinaloa .....	33,681	323,499
Sonora .....	76,922	262,545
Tamaulipas .....	32,585	249,253
Lower California.....	58,345	52,244
Totals .....	414,080	2,465,532

It cannot be denied that we have long had occasion to deeply regret the strange error our Government committed when it did not exact from Mexico, as it could have done by simply demanding it, the really natural, scientific frontier, between the two countries, extending from the mouth of the Panuco River at the Gulf of Mexico to the Boca de Teacapan on the Pacific Ocean, instead of that of the Rio Grande and the eccentric land line we now have.

This frontier, besides being scarcely one-third as long, would have brought to us more than the half of Mexico as it is today, including, of course, all of Lower California, with its magnificent naval base of Magdalena Bay, in addition to the important ports of Tampico on the Gulf and Mazatlan on the Pacific. Roughly speaking, 12,650,000 of the population of Mexico inhabit the States south of the line above described; the remainder, of about 2,465,000, are found in the immense thinly peopled States north of that line, which, by reason of their vast mineral



wealth, constitute the part really desirable to us, and in which much the greater part of more than a billion dollars of American capital in Mexico is already invested, besides immense foreign investments.

But, quite apart from such considerations, it is well known that most of the disorders and revolutionary agitations in Mexico have originated in its turbulent Northern States; the population of the smaller Southern portion, besides being more orderly, is much denser and easier to reach and control. It is entirely probable, had we left Mexico thus reduced to its natural and proper limits in 1849, that its subsequent history would have been more peaceful and orderly than that of any other Latin nation upon either Continent.

This vast territory we would have civilized and developed as we have Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and the Pacific Coast States. And had it ever been necessary for us to assist the Mexicans in preserving internal tranquillity, it would always have been a matter of ease for an American army, posted along this new frontier, to occupy the city of Mexico, and, with the aid of our fleets, to reach any other parts of the interior in a very short time.

This territorial adjustment would not merely have been to the best interests of Mexico itself—for a regular government in the capital would hardly have failed to maintain order and its authority in this reduced area from that time to the present—but, it would be to-day a far better and safer solution of the Mexican problem than to leave Mexico in possession of territories it cannot control, or, than for us to annex the whole country, and attempt to assimilate its mongrel population of

15,000,000, and thus add another Race Problem to that we already have with 11,000,000 Negroes.

The annexation of this territory, having only 2,465,000 inhabitants, would not seriously disturb either our existing race problems, or the political conditions arising from them. Lower California would naturally be attached to California, of which it is the geographical extension. Sonora and Chihuahua could be consolidated as one territory or state: Durango and Sinaloa into a second territory or state, and Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas into a third territory or state. Whenever admitted as States, their representation in Congress would thus be reduced to a safe minimum.

Under the new adjustments of territory herein suggested, Mexico would still embrace an area of about 353,000 square miles, compact, well connected—larger than Great Britain and the German Empire, with Holland, Belgium and Denmark thrown in—and having a population of 12,650,000, or about 35.8 inhabitants to the square mile. If allowed a fair monetary compensation, as would be most probable, it would have not only the means to discharge its present national indebtedness of \$220,000,000, but a cash balance in its treasury large enough to start it upon a new career of peaceful development and prosperity, such as it has never known.

It would lose 414,000 square miles, largely mountainous and barren, except for minerals, containing 2,465,000 inhabitants, or less than six persons to the square mile. Unable to reach, or to enforce order over this vast region, whose turbulent population is not only a constant menace to the tranquillity of Mexico, but to friendly relations with all other nations, as well, its loss would have all

the benefits to Mexico that a moribund patient might derive from a sound surgical operation.

Should we ever annex the *whole* of Mexico, the extension of our limits would not end there. The five grotesque little Central American Despotisms,—masquerading under the guise of Republics, under our self-constituted guardianship and protection, and wedged in between our new frontier in the swamps of Yucatan, on the one hand, and the Panama Canal Zone, on the other—would, by the mere force of gravity, be drawn in and absorbed by us.

Area and Population of Central America :

	Square Miles	Population
Costa Rica.....	18,400	368,780 (census of 1909)
Guatemala ....	48,300	1,992,000 (census of 1910)
Nicaragua ....	50,000	600,000
San Salvador..	7,225	1,006,848
Honduras .....	46,250	500,136 (census of 1905)
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Total .....	170,175	4,467,764
Add Mexico...	767,323	15,063,207
<hr/>		
Grand Total...	937,498	19,530,971

These huge totals, both of territory and of population, are so great that they might well cause even the most reckless expansionist to pause and reflect.

Even the British Possessions—peopled as they are with only 8,000,000 of kindred races, stretching in a narrow, thinly inhabited fringe of territory for 3,000 miles along the cold, inhospitable side of our Northern frontier, and seeking warmth and support from close contact with our immensely greater, warmer mass—will present some difficulties for adjustment whenever the

inevitable operation of the irresistible law of the attraction of gravity between two bodies, shall cause the smaller to fall into the greater body.

And thus, after the lapse of more than a century, since the Revolution of 1776 by the Thirteen other American Colonies, the great FOURTEENTH COLONY, which then turned a deaf ear to the most pressing entreaties to join the new confederation, will have fulfilled its manifest destiny—vastly greater, too, in territory, in population and in wealth. A million American farmers have settled upon the wheat fields of Western Canada within a few years; much more than a million of the most intelligent, enterprising Canadians have sought homes and fortunes in the United States, and the vast cotton-milling industry of New England is largely supplied with labour from the same source; the enormous and rapidly increasing interchange of commerce tends to a final wiping out of all restrictions, and the lingering feeling of loyalty to the Crown, while troublesome to deal with, must, in the end, disappear, and be replaced by the same friendly sentiments we ourselves entertain for our grand old Father-land.

And this must happen the sooner, from the fact that the nearly uninhabited, as well as uninhabitable, wilderness of rocky wastes and almost valueless scrub thickets, extending for hundreds of miles around the desolate northern shores of the Great Lakes, has cut this slender fringe of Canadians into two parts, so widely separated and having local interests so divergent, that neither can strongly support the other, even if disposed to attempt it, in efforts to defeat or delay their admission as members of the great Federal Union!

But the problem of assimilating 8,000,000 or 10,000,-

000 Caucasians, most nearly related to ourselves, will be trifling in comparison with the dangers and difficulties which would arise out of the annexations of Mexico and Central America, with their vast mongrel populations, speaking only foreign tongues, and which—with the exception of the intelligent, purely Spanish element, embracing, unfortunately, less than ten per cent of the whole population—can neither be assimilated nor amalgamated by us, any more than can the Negro.

The British Possessions, therefore, will present no Race Problems, while the annexations of the whole of Mexico and the Central American States would instantly add another to that which already afflicts us, and increase, by so much the more, the perils and the difficulties which must follow whenever we conferred citizenship upon their combined millions of inferior, alien races.

For, ultimately, it is to be feared, we, probably, would repeat the fatal error we committed when the delusive rights of the franchise, with its very real dangers, were actually *forced* upon the unfortunate Negro, who could neither assert nor defend them—and, also, bestow upon the nineteen millions of mongrel populations, even more ignorant, in great part, than the Negro, equally illusive, dangerous rights of suffrage, and which, of course, as in the case of the Negro, would have to be taken from them, excepting only the intelligent Spanish element, which, with our own influx of “carpet-baggers”—who would hasten there in vast numbers from every part of the United States, to hold the offices and other good things—would govern the new possessions!

But it is far more dangerous to future peaceful conditions to take away from a people such rights once granted, than simply to have withheld them. In any case, the

natives, who already fear and hate us as it is, could hardly be expected to entertain more friendly sentiments after being subjugated.

As representation in our House of Representatives, and in the Electoral College, is based simply upon population, and not upon the numbers of the element actually exercising the rights of suffrage, we would see a repetition, upon a far greater scale, of the present smouldering feeling of resentment between the people of the North and the South over the representation enjoyed by the latter, based upon the disfranchised coloured population, whereby two Southern white votes balance three Northern votes.

And this issue over the Negro representation is far from being *settled*; we have simply postponed the evil day; and as to the Race Issue itself, we are *drifting*, in the vague hope that it "will settle itself," as it is so often expressed—but, how, and in what manner, is by no means clear.

The present political divisions or States in Mexico number 27, and there are 5 in Central America, 32 States in all; whether admitted into our Union as 32 States, or as 16 States, they would be entitled, also, to two United States Senators each—enough, in any case, to cause further strife and bitterness over minority over-representation, and, perhaps, to hold the balance of power in the Congress.

The great danger in the annexation of Mexico, in its entirety, is not to Mexico, as it would really be far better off because of it, but to the stability and permanence of our present form of government in the United States.

DISINTEGRATION is the evil to which the Monroe Doctrine thus invites us; and it may yet prove a two-

edged sword for us, in the cynical meaning we have adopted in its application to the rights and the needs of other peoples for breathing room in this Hemisphere.

We have closed the New World to the Old, but the United States must yet answer, definitively, before the enlightened intelligence of the nations, the question of its *right* to deny to others "a place in the sun" in this Hemisphere, as it now ventures to do only because it has the power to enforce its will. For let the fact be plainly stated: Europe is, in reality, well-nigh helpless against the AMERICAN PERIL!

As to Great Britain and Germany the time is already arrived when war with us would mean starvation and national ruin in their commerce and industries, through the very simple process of cutting off supplies of wheat and cotton, without which *they* cannot exist. To state the question in concrete form: The Continent of South America has an estimated area of 7,700,000 square miles, and about 44,000,000 inhabitants by the last census returns, or only 5.7 persons to the square mile. Perhaps 25 per cent of the population, including the foreign immigration, say 11,000,000, are educated and intelligent: 75 per cent, or the remaining 33,000,000, are but slightly removed from semi-barbarism, and possess no voice whatever in the actual government of any of their so-called Republics.

The native elements are simply *incapable* of developing even a tenth part of their vast, unused territories, or, excepting the small, intelligent fraction of the population, of making a better use of them than were the Indians whom we have not hesitated to thrust out of our own path to establish ourselves in North America; 65,000,000 Germans are crowded upon 211,000 square miles, and

37,000,000 Italians upon 99,000 square miles, that is to say, there are 308 Germans and 373 Italians to the square mile, struggling to live.

To such enlightened peoples, and to all others, the Monroe Doctrine proclaims that the Continent of South America is *reserved* to the absolute ownership and political domination that less than 6 natives to the square mile—three-fourths of whom are not of the Caucasian Race but mongrels of a low type—may be able to exercise.

A new and ominous extension of our present attitude of Over-Lord in the affairs of the nations of the Western Hemisphere has been foreshadowed in a recent address at Mobile, by our chief executive, to the delegates of the Latin Republics, wherein it was proclaimed that he opposed the granting of concessions to foreigners by their governments, and that it was the mission of the United States to free those governments from foreign domination that might be thus acquired. This, despite the fact that the Latin governments themselves might be willing to pay liberally for foreign capital, as was once the case with ourselves in our own times of need.

Such an assumption, however, of the *right to visé* contracts between the Latin Americans and Europeans is in nowise different from that our government has long exercised over the contracts of our own tribal Indians with other persons, and may, naturally, be expected to apply to the Indians and others in Latin America. No stronger proof of our own conviction that such peoples are incapable of governing themselves could be asked. Having still before us the fearful consequences of the attempt to establish Negro domination over a part of our own people, is an added stigma to be cast upon the Monroe Doctrine by making it the instrument of im-



measurable woe and oppression to the over-crowded millions of Europe, in denying to them the God-given right *to live*, by using the common heritage of mankind, simply to preserve a continent to a few millions of natives who are, in great part, as inferior to the Caucasian as the Negro, and quite as incapable of making any use of it?

It is yet to be answered whether the enlightened conscience of the American people themselves will consent to continue, arbitrarily, to proclaim, that having once extended their hand so far, they will refuse to draw it back, within the limits of reason and justice, let the blind, brutal consequences be what they may to the suffocating millions of Europe, and the peace of the world.

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